

THE Anti-Slavery Reporter.

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1896.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

ANNUAL SUMMARY. 1895.

AS in our Annual Summaries for 1893, and also for 1894, the first place had to be given to the continued efforts of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to procure the abolition of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba, so we are obliged to commence our Summary of work done in 1895 with a similar statement.

Those who have followed the work of the Society during the past year will have observed that special steps have been taken to arouse public opinion upon the gross inconsistency of an anti-Slavery country, like England, deliberately protecting the institution of Slavery, in possessions absolutely under British control.

Zanzibar and Pemba.

SLAVERY UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION.

ON the 1st February, 1895, Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, who had been appointed Special Commissioner of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, left England for Zanzibar, with the object of studying the question of Slavery, not only in those islands but on the mainland and also in the Red Sea. On his way home, Mr. MACKENZIE forwarded from Aden an elaborate and extremely clear and well-digested Report of what he had seen and heard, respecting Slavery and the Slave-trade in the British Protectorates.

He then proceeded to investigate the Slave-trade in the Red Sea.

The report respecting Zanzibar and Pemba was published in a separate volume, with marginal notes and a specially prepared map, and very extensively circulated by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY

SOCIETY *gratuitously*, as it was considered that no expense should be spared in order to educate and inform the general public upon the burning question of "Slavery under the British Flag."

The downfall of Slavery in the two clove islands of Eastern Africa, now forming part of British possessions, may be confidently looked for at an early date, and nothing will have contributed more to its downfall than the excellent work of the Special Commissioner of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In order to continue the work of its Commissioner, and to counteract some of the extraordinary views put forth by Mr. HARDINGE, Consul-General in Zanzibar, in which the continuance of Slavery was excused on pecuniary and political grounds (*vide* "Africa, No. 6, 1895"), the SOCIETY convened a meeting of its members and of the general public in October last at the Mansion House, by permission of the LORD MAYOR, under the chairmanship of the President of the Society, Mr. ARTHUR PEASE, M.P. At this meeting Mr. MACKENZIE delivered an address on "Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba," and important Resolutions were passed and transmitted to the Government. The principal speakers were the PRESIDENT, his nephew, Mr. J. A. PEASE, M.P., Mr. C. E. TRITTON, M.P., Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH, the Rev. HORACE WALLER, Mr. E. WRIGHT-BROOKS, and Dr. LEITNER, late Director of Public Instruction in India. The last-named speaker stated in a few words that the question of the massacre or enslavement of the tribes of Kafiristan by the AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN would shortly have to engage the attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and the people of Great Britain.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, which had warmly taken up the Anti-Slavery question, especially as regards Zanzibar and Pemba, and had held various meetings with the object of calling the attention of the public and of the Government to the subject, continued its useful work, under the auspices of a Special Committee formed for the purpose of co-operating with the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. These meetings formed a very useful supplement to the illustrated lectures given in a great number of towns by Mr. F. C. BANKS, the Society's lecturer, he having died, suddenly, about the middle of the year.

On March 7th, 1895, a most important debate on the suppression of Slavery in Zanzibar took place in the House of Commons. This debate, which was inaugurated by Mr. J. A. PEASE, M.P., in a very exhaustive and powerful speech, supplemented the action taken by the hon. gentleman on March 1st, on which date he presented to the House petitions from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY

SOCIETY, the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, the BAPTIST UNION, the CONGREGATIONAL UNION, and about 15 others.

The Debate, which produced a great deal of discussion, was remarkable in having drawn from the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir EDWARD GREY, the frank statement that "the thing" (abolition of Slavery) "had got to be done, and the Government had asked for a report from those best able to judge as to the best means of doing it."

Sir WM. HARCOURT (Chancellor of the Exchequer) also said that "it was the unanimous opinion of the House that every measure that was possible should be taken for the purpose of putting down Slavery. That was the policy of this Government, as it was of the last Government, and would be of future Governments." We think we may venture to predict that the policy described by Sir WM. HARCOURT will before very long be carried out.

The fall of the Government and the General Election, which took place in the middle of the year, postponed the consideration of this question for a considerable time, but the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY did not neglect the opportunity of putting the question to every Candidate for the new Parliament, as to whether he would support a motion for the Abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and all other British Protectorates.

In reply to these questions some 200 answers were obtained, in spite of the difficulty of obtaining correct addresses of Candidates, in favour of the SOCIETY's demand.

Very soon after the meeting of the new Parliament the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY addressed a long Memorial to LORD SALISBURY, the Prime Minister, recounting what had already been done in connection with Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and urging the Government to carry out the policy of abolition which had been promised by its immediate predecessors.

We trust that when Parliament reassembles steps will immediately be taken by the Government to wipe out the stain that has so long disgraced the British flag.

Lectures and Public Meetings.

LECTURES.—Owing to the sudden death of the Society's lecturer, Mr. FREDERICK C. BANKS, in the summer of this year, it was impossible to renew the Lecture Session, which has usually been commenced in October. At the same time it may be remembered that during the early months of 1895 Mr. BANKS delivered a considerable number of lectures in various parts of the country, all of which were eminently

successful as regards spreading information, more particularly in respect to Slavery under the British flag. As a whole, we cannot say that they were a financial success, as the amount collected did not cover the expenses. In the early autumn a very well-attended lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, was delivered at Reading by the Assistant Secretary, Mr. TEALL, accompanied by Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, who gave a sketch of his experiences in Zanzibar. The latter gentleman also delivered a lecture, by request, at the London Institution, Finsbury Circus, and Mr. TEALL also lectured at the Bedford Institute, both with illustrations. It is obvious that the officials have very little time to spare for outdoor work, but any application from towns, within a reasonable distance, will be responded to when practicable. It is, however, quite unlikely that the Society will again be able to afford the services of a paid lecturer.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.—Several very influential and important public meetings have been held during the year in various places in England and Ireland, reports of several of which have already appeared. The greater number of these meetings were convened by the Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee: one in London, at Prince's Hall, others at Bristol, Birmingham, Sunderland, Gloucester, Newcastle, Belfast, Hitchin, etc.

The most important meeting, however, was that held in October, at the Mansion House, by joint co-operation of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and the Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee, a full account of which appeared in the *Reporter* for September to November.

Railway from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza.

ONE of the last acts of the late Government was to recognise the necessity, for administrative purposes in Uganda, of communication by railway between Mombasa and Lake Victoria, thus following out the recommendation of the Committee appointed to consider that question, whose report is dated April 27th, 1895.

It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has, for several years past, strongly advocated the construction of a railway from the coast, as the best means of opening up the country, and of putting a stop to the internal Slave traffic.

We are glad to find that the recommendation of the late Government has been cordially endorsed by its successors, and we believe that the Chief Engineer has already sailed for Mombasa. Whilst heartily rejoicing in the construction of a line of railway which will, we hope,

put an end to the inhumanities connected with transport by Slave porters, so far as the line from the lake to the sea is concerned, we contend that a serious duty will devolve upon the **BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY** in regard to the labour employed in laying down this line.

We believe that by the abolition of Slavery, free African labour may be readily obtained, and we must confess that we do not favour the idea of importing British India Coolie labour to work on the railway, on the mainland, or in the clove or other plantations of the islands.

There is no objection to Coolie labour if the labourers come of their own free will, and enter into contracts only directly with the people who employ them. Contract Coolie labour, as at present carried on in many parts, is so closely akin to Slavery that the great st care will have to be exercised in any attempt to introduce Coolies in a country where Slave labour has so long existed.

British Central Africa.

(**NYASALAND.**)

THE remarks made a year ago, in the Summary for 1894, respecting the Nyasaland portion of Africa, might be repeated with very little modification, as no great amount of information has reached the Society respecting the manner in which labour is obtained in that portion of British Central Africa. On the one hand we hear that free black labour can be obtained to any amount, and again we are told that there is a good deal of the well-known system of paying wages to the Slaves, who hand at least one-half to the masters. We hope that a full report upon this subject will be laid before Parliament during the present Session, and we also trust that Sir H. H. JOHNSTON, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, has recovered from the serious illness from which he was reported to be suffering.

Slavery in German East Africa.

THE Special Commissioner of the **BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY** extended his journey last Spring to the German settlement lying nearly opposite to Zanzibar. His report of "Slavery and the Slave-trade in German Possessions" is very startling, as it would appear that large Slave caravans enter German territory from Nyasaland, and that Slave-dealing goes on in much the same way as when the Arabs were masters of the country. The excuse is that the Germans wish as many natives as possible to settle in the country, and are quite

indifferent as to whether they are Slaves or free. The Commissioner's statements as to the treatment of natives in Dar-es-Salaam, the German capital, are confirmed in a singular manner by Miss BALFOUR, sister of the First Lord of the Treasury, who paid a visit to that port a few months before Mr. MACKENZIE called there. He was horrified at seeing natives, men and women, chained together by the neck, and gangs of native women working on the roads, and driven to their work by a white man carrying a large raw-hide whip. Miss BALFOUR found the prisons so crowded that she thought there were fewer prisoners in all the Chartered Company's territories than in that one little German town.

We have some reason to believe that the German Government is now causing investigations to be made as to the native question in their territories.

The Red Sea Slave Trade.

ON his way home from Zanzibar Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE took considerable pains to obtain information on the spot as to the Slave traffic across the Red Sea. For this purpose he visited several ports on the Arabian and East African coasts, and his report, which will be found printed in full in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for December, is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the almost incessant Slave-trade carried on in the southern half of the Red Sea. The swift, shallow vessels which are able, with a fair wind, to cross this narrow sea in one night, smuggling Slaves and tobacco, are very rarely caught, as, in the first place, we have very few cruisers in those waters; secondly, they cannot follow dhows into the shallow creeks; and in the third place, they can escape by hoisting a foreign flag. Moreover, the climate is so unhealthy that it is impossible for our sailors to remain long on that service, and this involves constant change of vessels.

Egypt.

IN our Summary for 1894 it was stated that LORD CROMER and SIR JOHN SCOTT were engaged in framing the text of a Convention between Great Britain and Egypt for the suppression of Slavery and the Slave-trade, and it was their wish to carry out, as far as possible, the views of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in the formation of a Court for the trial of Slave cases.

During the past year the efforts made by Her Majesty's Representative in Egypt, and the Judicial Adviser to the Khedive, have been crowned with success, and a new Convention, signed by LORD CROMER,

on the part of Great Britain, and by the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been published in the *Official Journal* of November 23rd, 1895. Now that the purchaser of Slaves on Egyptian territory is liable to severe punishment as well as the seller, a very great point has been gained, for it was always tolerably easy for the Slave merchant to escape over the border, whilst the purchaser ran no risk, as the law did not touch him.

With a very much diminished introduction of fresh Slaves into Egypt by smuggling, those Slaves who acquire their freedom by application to the authorities, as was the case before the present Convention, can only be replaced with difficulty and danger.

Tripoli, Morocco, and Northern Africa.

No news of any importance respecting this portion of the African continent has been received during the past year. Private accounts, however, received by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, show that no change for the better has taken place in Morocco, either as regards the Slave markets or the importation of Slaves from the Central Sudan. This is confirmed by a traveller writing from Kano, a large and most important manufacturing town in the heart of Africa, which appears to be still the centre of an enormous Slave-trade. It is not at all uncommon to see 500 Slaves on sale in the market of Kano, whilst in other smaller towns from 200 to 300 are exposed in like manner. These Slaves are raided from the territories of neighbouring chiefs, and are sent in caravans to Morocco and Tripoli.

Now that the European Powers appear to have completely given up protesting against the Slave-trade in Morocco, and the SULTAN has been allowed to extend his dominions 300 miles to the south by the purchase of the English settlement of Cape Juby, still further facilities are afforded for Slave caravans crossing into the Moorish territories, where they always find a ready sale for their human wares.

Madagascar.

THE conquest of Madagascar by the French, and the administration of the Government by French officials in the name of the Queen, places that country in pretty much the same condition, with regard to France, as Zanzibar holds with regard to England. Although the existence of Slavery in a British Protectorate rather precludes us from expressing astonishment at its continuance in Madagascar under French rule, we

hope that the policy of France, as regards Emancipation, so nobly carried out in her Colonies, will before long be also in force in Madagascar. That Slaves are still hired out on condition that one-half of the wages should be retained and handed over to the owner we know to be a fact, as we have lately received from Madagascar a letter, officially stamped by the French resident, in which the hirer is ordered to forward half the wages of the Slave to her owner.

Polynesian Labour Traffic.

IN the summer of 1895 the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* published some very startling accounts of the infamous traffic in Polynesians for the supply of freed labour in Queensland. These particulars were taken from a trial which took place at the end of 1894, which disclosed, on sworn evidence, particulars of kidnapping, assaults, and other crimes. A Blue Book on the Polynesian traffic has lately been published, which contains matter that will demand the serious attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY during the year that has now opened.

The Amir of Afghanistan and the Kafirs.

THE baneful effects of the injudicious Treaty between Afghanistan and the Indian Government, which was drawn up some time ago, have not been long in disclosing themselves, at the expense of the Siah Posh Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. Rumours that a war of extermination, or enslavement, was about to be opened by the AMIR reached the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in October last, and the subject was brought before the Committee at its meeting in November, when it was decided that the officials should obtain further information upon the subject. This was done, and presented to the Committee in December. One or two of the Committee considering that the subject should be still further looked into, the question of presenting a Memorial was again adjourned. (Further particulars respecting the Kafirs and the action taken by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be found on another page of this number of the *Reporter*.)

The following extract from a letter from a Norwegian, to the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, shows that the subject of the poor threatened Kafirs of the Hindu Kush excites interest outside the narrow limits of the British Islands :—

"I have to thank you for your kindness in always sending me the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. I was greatly interested in reading about the Mansion House Meeting, and

still more so by the news contained in the last issue. What is said about the probable extinction and enslavement of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush deeply interested me. I cannot but hope that England will protect these poor Kafirs, and prevent the AMIR from carrying out his wicked plans, and I am happy to know that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will do everything in its power to prevent him from so doing."

"Anti-Slavery Reporter."

THE Society's publication for the past year has been of special importance, containing as it did not only verbatim reprints of Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE'S Report of his visit to Zanzibar and Pemba, but also excellent maps of those regions in which he inspected the present condition of the Slaves in the British Protectorate, and the localities in which the Slave-trade is most extensively carried on on the East African Coast and in the Red Sea.

In order to assist the Society in meeting the large expenses connected with the printing and circulating of this Anti-Slavery organ (now some seventy years old, and the only one in the United Kingdom), the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Society of Friends (established about two years ago) generously made a grant of £200, during the present year, to be specially devoted to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. The only condition connected with this grant was a request that all persons who had contributed to the Friends' Anti-Slavery Fund should receive a copy regularly, so far as the names are known.

Obituary, 1895.

THE hand of death has removed several of the Society's old and well-tried friends and supporters, as well as some whose names were known far beyond the limits of the United Kingdom. Early in the year FREDERICK DOUGLASS, the world famed ex-Slave and United States official, passed away at a ripe age, he having only survived by three or four years the late Mrs. RICHARDSON, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to whose exertions he was mainly indebted for his liberation more than half a century ago.

THE decease of JOSEPH THOMSON, at a comparatively early age, has deprived the African Continent of an experienced and devoted explorer, and the Society of an important Corresponding Member.

MR. E. J. GLAVE, whose long residence in the Congo State, and travels in other portions of Africa, had enabled him to speak with authority on many of the questions connected with native labour, will be much missed by those who are working for the development of that Continent and the freedom of its people.

AMONG those more closely connected with the Society and its work, the death of Mr. W. H. WARTON, one of the oldest members of the Committee (on which he represented the Presbyterian body), is a serious loss to the Anti-Slavery Cause, for although, owing to blindness and removal from London, he had been unable to attend much during the last decade, he was a frequent attender of the monthly meetings for several years, and by contributions at various times, evinced his interest in the Society and its work up to within a very few months of his death.

MR. L. P. ALLEN, brother of the Treasurer and Secretary, and also a Member of the Society, died early in the year, to the deep regret of all who knew him.

THE sudden decease of Mr. FREDERICK C. BANKS, the Society's Travelling Agent and Lecturer, in the summer, came as a shock to his numerous friends, whilst a check has been caused in a useful branch of the Society's operations by the cessation of his illustrated Anti-Slavery lectures.

THE name of EDITH S. HOLLINGS, daughter of the late Mr. EDMUND STURGE, and niece of Mr. ALBRIGHT, awakens many memories of the home at Charlbury, wherein so much good has been wrought for suffering humanity.

MANY remembered that genial and generous friend of every movement on behalf of the oppressed, the late STAFFORD ALLEN, on noting the decease of his widow during the summer.

AMONGST others whose kindly support has enabled the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to carry on so long and successful a moral warfare against Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world may be recorded :—LOUISA ALLEN (*Liskeard*) ; CATHERINE FARDON (*Reigate*) ; EDWARD GRIPPER (*Nottingham*) ; MARTHA HOLDSWORTH (*Eccles*) ; JOSEPH HUNTLEY (*Reading*) ; RICHARD LITTLEBOY (*Newport Pagnel*) ; EMMA GURNEY PEASE (*Darlington*) ; CANDIA PUMPHREY (*Worcester*) ; W. D. SIMS (*Ipswich*) ; all of whom were Members of the Society of Friends, whose decease will naturally affect the income of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Legacies.

WE regret to be able to report the announcement of any legacies during 1895.

The total amount received by bequest since 1886 is less than £400 (in ten years).

1896.

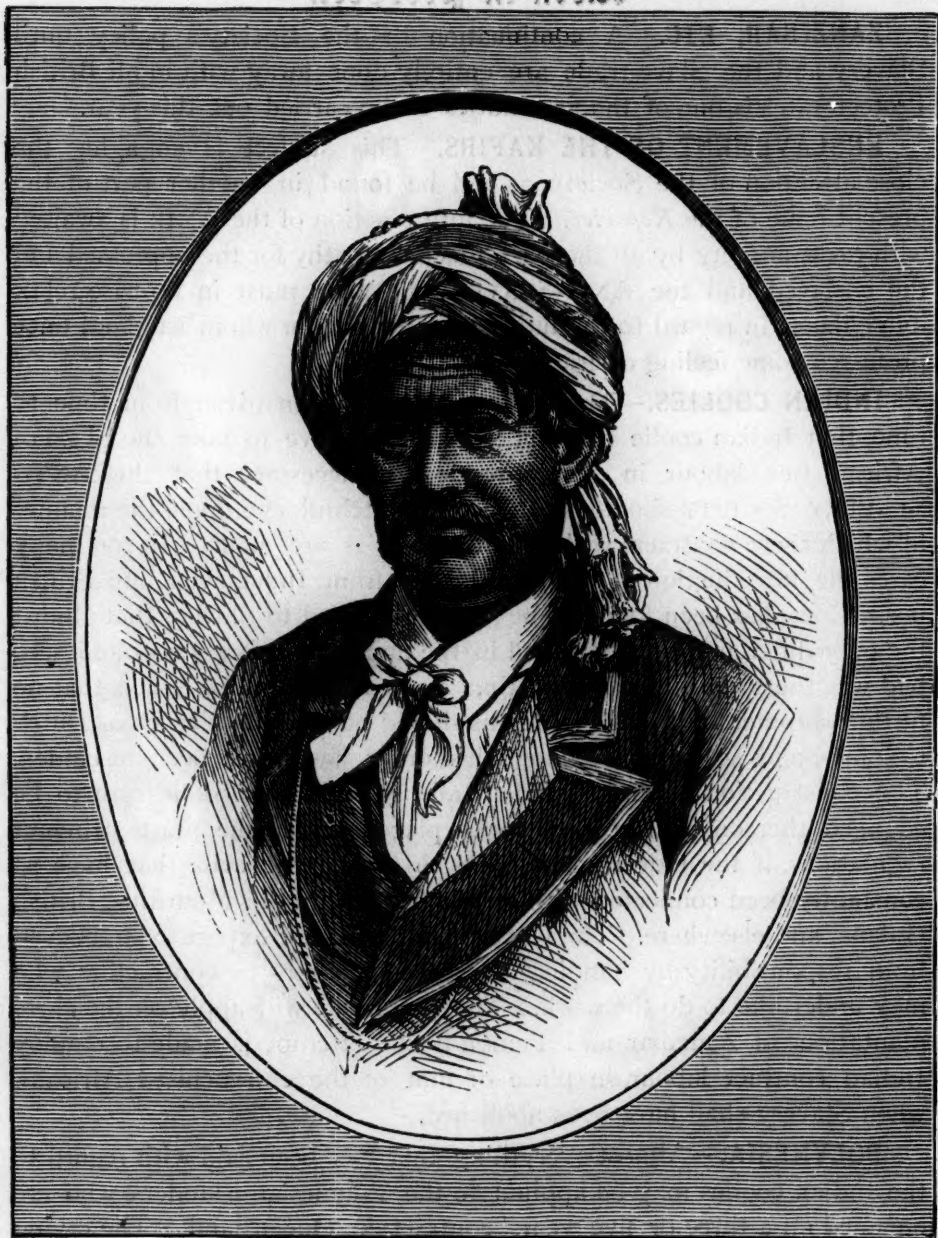
Work in Prospect.

ZANZIBAR, ETC.—A continuation of the Society's policy until Slavery and the Slave-trade are entirely done away with in all British Protectorates is one of the first duties to be carried out this year.

ENSLAVEMENT OF THE KAFIRS.—This subject is engaging the close attention of the Society, as will be found in another part of the present issue of the *Reporter*. The future action of the AMIR is awaited with great anxiety by all those who feel sympathy for the oppressed and the enslaved, and the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY must in no wise relax its vigilance in regard to the future of a people, for whom England once professed some feeling of friendship.

INDIAN COOLIES.—The hints that have been given from time to time, that Indian coolie contract labour may have to take the place of African free labour in Africa, renders it necessary that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY should keep a very watchful eye upon the manner in which these contracts with ignorant coolies are made. In too many cases the introduction of contract labour from India, even into British possessions, has been found to be so closely allied to Slavery that almost the only difference is to be found in the name. In foreign Colonies so bad was the state of the coolie that an order had to be issued that no further shipments of British Indians should be made to French or Dutch Colonies, and, so far as we know, this order has never been rescinded. The construction of the Uganda Railway, if Indian coolies are to be engaged thereon, will require to be placed under the most stringent regulations, if the Government hope to escape the evils that have so constantly been connected with servile labour in the Mauritius, British Guiana, and elsewhere. The Government must not expect to be relieved from responsibility by handing over the labourers to contractors who may undertake to do the work. The same rule will apply on the clove plantations of Zanzibar and Pemba if any attempt is made to employ Indian contract labour, in place of that of the enfranchised Africans, when Slavery shall have been abolished.

POLYNESIA.—Almost everything that has been said with regard to the Indian coolies may be applied to the Polynesian islanders, who are engaged on a three or five years' contract in Queensland. The crying evils connected with this labour traffic have been often exposed by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and the information contained in the Blue Book just issued tends to show that the work of the Society in that quarter of the world will have to be continued.



JAMSHED, THE SIAH POSH KAFIR,
PRESENT AT A MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 1874.

A few facts respecting the Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush, now in imminent danger of Extinction or Enslavement.

1874.

ON the 21st May, 1874, a Public Meeting of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held in Cannon Street Hotel, Sir BARTLE FRERE in the chair.

In the course of this meeting Dr. LEITNER made an eloquent speech, in which he brought forward the question of the Kafirs of the Siah Posh, on the north-western borders of India, and subject to predatory raids by the troops of the AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN, in which, as a rule, the men were massacred, and the women and children carried off into Slavery—often of the vilest description. The Resolution to which Dr. LEITNER spoke, contained the following clause :—

“The meeting realises the imperative necessity for continued earnest effort on the part of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to seek by all moral and pacific means the suppression of the Slave-trade, still so widely prevalent in Africa and Asia, and secure the emancipation of the Slaves in Mohammedan and other countries in the Eastern, as well as of those in Cuba and Brazil in the Western, Hemisphere.”

The Rev. HORACE WALLER, who followed Dr. LEITNER, congratulated him upon the able manner in which he had treated the subject.

Dr. LEITNER said :—

“Then comes the case of our ally, the AMEER OF CABOOL. Whether he can be called a feudatory is, perhaps, not technically correct ; but there is not the least doubt that he lives by our breath and the prestige which we give him, and in practically acknowledging his infant son, and giving the AMEER money and arms, we have certainly assumed the position of a ‘paramount’ power towards him. Now, if he is to deserve our support, all I can say is, that the ‘paramount’ power being a civilised one, the *quasi*-feudatory power should conduct itself as a civilised one also. Now, there exist under the AMEER some populations more or less savage, some of which, perhaps, are not entitled to very great consideration, but all of which are deserving of consideration as human beings ; others, again, are most emphatically deserving our protection, and these are the Siah Posh Kafirs, a specimen of whom I have brought here this evening, in order to show you how horrible are the evils of Slavery even under the most domestic system, where the Slaves are sometimes advanced to considerable power. This man, who was recognised the other day as a major in the AMEER’s service, is the nephew of General FERAMORZ, a man who was famous far beyond the extent of his own country, and who was foully murdered, although he had conquered the country for the AMEER. After a murder, accompanied with some most horrible circumstances, neither were his murderers punished by the AMEER, who merely allowed their and his half-brothers to murder them, nor was any notice taken of his services. On the contrary, the family of the Kafir general, the AMEER’s benefactor, was divided among the Sepoys of the AMEER, as the

property of the men to whom they were given, because the general was, after all, only a Slave! Now this is Slavery under its most favourable aspects, where men acquire a certain amount of power. These Kafirs consider themselves the brothers of the Europeans—they are neither Hindoos nor Mahommedans, but, it has been said, have a sort of *quasi*-Christianity, increasing as it were, if it could be possibly increased, our sympathy for them. This is the race that is now successfully preyed upon by the AMEER. I say successfully, because it has been certainly successful since we have provided the AMEER OF CABOOL with improved fire-arms. These people have for ages maintained their independence, and even the AMEER OF CABOOL has not been able wholly to conquer them. Some believe that the Siah Posh Kafirs are descendants of a colony planted by Alexander himself; but whether that be so or not, this race will soon be exterminated, unless this Society and the public generally move in the matter. All I can say is that to this Society suffering humanity all over the world is indebted."

The intelligent Kafir, above referred to, carried back with him to his home a letter written by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to the chief of his tribe, which will be found below. It was translated into Persian by Dr. LEITNER, and the SOCIETY had reason to know that it was received and appreciated by those to whom it was deciphered.

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY did not, however, confine its work to the public meeting above alluded to, but addressed a Memorial to LORD SALISBURY on behalf of the enslaved Kafirs, which is reproduced in full on last page of this pamphlet. Also another in 1878, requesting to know whether the Indian Government was using its influence in the suppression of the Slave-trade. In acknowledging the letter VISCOUNT CRANBROOK pointed out the difficulty in dealing with the question, as the AMEER had not received for some years a subsidy, as supposed. In reply, Messrs. JOSEPH COOPER and EDMUND STURGE, Honorary Secretaries of the SOCIETY, wrote in November, 1878, to the Secretary of State for India "that although Her Majesty's Government may have discontinued the subsidy formerly paid to the AMEER OF KABUL, the Committee would express their earnest desire that its moral influence may be exerted on all suitable occasions, to bring about the extinction of the Slave-trade which has so long desolated the country of the Siah Posh Kafir people."

ADDRESS TO THE CHIEFS OF THE SIAH POSH KAFIRS.

("Anti-Slavery Reporter" for January, 1875.)

As JAMSHED, the Siah Posh Kafir, an escaped Slave from Afghanistan, who was brought to England by Dr. G. W. LEITNER, was about to return to his people, this was felt to be a favourable opportunity to send an Address to the chiefs of his tribe, which has been, and still is, exposed to the kidnapping raids of the AMIR OF CABOOL and his chiefs. The following, in the Persian language, has accordingly been forwarded to them :—

"TO NAIB TURAB, AND CHIEFS OF THE DISTRICT OF KATAR."—(Annexed about 1865, and practically destroyed.)

After friendly greetings, etc., etc., the object of this letter is as follows:—

We have heard through your well-wisher, Dr. LEITNER, that certain tribes near your country kidnap numbers of your people, and sell them into Slavery; this intelligence has filled us with grief.

Though we had heard of your race, we have never seen one of your people till Dr. LEITNER brought to England your relative JAMSHED, who himself was kidnapped when young, and who has informed us of some particulars of your history, and the trials of your people, arising from the Slave-hunters who steal the members of your tribe and enslave them. The people of England desire that all men shall be free. They are great enemies to the Slave-trade and Slavery, and have abolished it wherever they can.

We, your cordial friends, are a Society, founded many years ago, whose object it is to suppress the Slave-trade and Slavery by every legitimate means in every part of the world, and we have memorialised our Government on the subject of the kidnapping raids made against your tribe; urging upon them to make due inquiry into the matter, and that you and other tribes may be protected by the QUEEN'S Government.

We shall be glad to know whether members of your and neighbouring tribes continue to suffer from those who would enslave you, and we trust that you will send us particulars of any raids made upon you. We would recommend that you should appoint a trustworthy representative to make known the circumstances of any kidnapping raids to the Commissioner of Peshawur or other British officer on the British frontier, so that they may report the same to the Government, who, we doubt not, will give the matter their serious attention.

We would further suggest that all other tribes subject to the Slave expeditions of their neighbours should submit their grievances to the British Government.

We commend to your protection any British subject who may be travelling near or into your territory, and we hereby thank the people of Shaiderland for the hospitality they showed ten years ago to two Christians, NURULLA and FAZAL-UL-HAQ.

May the GOD of all men give you all needful help, and deliver your people from the great evil of Slavery.

We are, your well-wishers, JOSEPH COOPER, EDMUND STURGE, ROBERT ALSOP (*Honorary Secretaries*); BENJAMIN MILLARD (*Secretary*).

27, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON,

November, 1874.

1895-1896.

At the present moment, and for some time past, a similar system of enslavement and massacre has been and is carried on by the present AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN, ABDURRAHMAN, who was proclaimed AMIR by Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN several years ago. A highly interesting and important description of the condition of these unfortunate Kafirs, written by Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN, and published in the *Saturday Review* of January 18th, 1896, should be read by all those who are interested in Anti-Slavery questions, and it is reprinted below, together with a valuable letter from Dr. LEITNER, published in the

Globe a few weeks ago. The portraits of two Kafir Slave-boys in Kabul would seem to prove that some of these hill-tribes are not quite such savages as it has been the fashion to paint them. Surely it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to see that the enslavement and massacre of these interesting people by their ally, the AMIR, who certainly receives a very large subsidy at the present moment, should be put an end to.

The Amir and the Kafirs.

By SIR LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

(*From the "Saturday Review," 18th January, 1896.*)

No Englishman of sense and patriotism would desire at the present time, when the political sky is overcast, to add to the burden and responsibilities of the Foreign and Colonial Departments of the Government, or question the dexterity, courage, and moderation with which they have safeguarded the interests of the country. But the Empire is wide, and troubles and perplexities in Europe, America, and Africa do not free the Secretary of State for India from the obligation of defending the honour of England in Asia, or from endeavouring to remove a reproach of bad faith which is a legacy of the feeble rule of his predecessors in office. A tragedy is now impending for which, if consummated, England will be directly responsible, and of which no time will ever suffice to efface the stain. The country of a lion-hearted race, which for a thousand years has successfully resisted Muhamadan conquest, is about to be invaded by the trained army of the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN, with the inevitable result of massacre, outrage, and ruin: for the men who will not accept the hated creed of Islam death or slavery, for the women and girls—as fair and rosy of face as English maidens—exposure in the Slave-markets of Badakshan and Kabul and the outrage of forced concubinage in Afghan harems. This will be done with the sanction and in the name of England. Where are the zealots whose tears are not yet dry for the woes of Armenia, an unhappy country for which we are not responsible, whose troubles have been chiefly caused by intrigue, and to encourage whose revolt we have shaken the throne of the only potentate in Europe whose existence is essential to our position and prosperity? Have they no sympathy for an ancient people who have called themselves the friends of the English, and who are now threatened with forced proselytism or destruction?

The district known as Kafiristan (the country of the infidels) is a mountainous region of the Hindu-Kush, due north of Jalalabad, in Afghanistan. It is exceedingly difficult of approach, and its high mountains and narrow defiles have enabled its brave and sturdy inhabitants to maintain their independence against numerous attacks by their fanatical Muhamadan neighbours. The Kafirs are "infidels" from the Muhamadan point of view, as are the English, and all people who do not accept the creed of Islam; but their origin, although doubtful and obscure, presents problems of extreme interest from their supposed connection with old-world civilisation. They claim descent from the Greeks, and it is said that the Macedonians, under ALEXANDER THE GREAT, acknowledged them as an old Greek colony, founded by DIONYSUS. The story of Hellenic descent is supported by the fair faces and regular features of the people, their dances, songs, and Græco-Buddhistic sculpture, and the fierce determination with which they have defended their mountain Thermopylæ against Moslem invaders. The reputation of the Kafir women for beauty is well

deserved, and every Afghan chief endeavours to obtain them for his harem, in the same manner as the Turkish seraglios were filled with the beauties of Circassia. An attempt is now being made by those who would defend an indefensible policy to paint the Kafir tribes as robbers and murderers, whose extermination would signify no loss to humanity ; but these are merely the arguments of the wolf addressed to the lamb. The milder social virtues are not to be expected in a wild people, altogether isolated, the object of constant attack by raiders and Slave merchants, who have only preserved their separate existence by the same courage and self-confidence which maintain the supremacy of England to-day. The Kafirs possess many of the sterner virtues, which are worth all the superficial veneer of a so-called civilisation, love of liberty and home, endurance, and contempt of death. Nor do they, like the men of Circassia, or their neighbours of Chitral, sell their daughters to a degrading servitude. Their country has rarely been seen by Englishmen, so great is the jealousy of the people ; and I exceedingly regret that, owing to political complications, I was unable to accept the invitation of some Kafir chiefs to visit it, by the Kunar route, on my return journey from Kabul, in 1881. But I have known many Kafirs, and have always felt the greatest interest in this strange and mysterious people, who, in their poor, blind fashion, have seemed to understand that in England and the great QUEEN they had protectors in their last extremity.

Now we are told that the last hour of the Kafirs as an independent people has sounded, and that the AMIR has determined to subjugate their country. The Afghan commander-in-chief has a small army encamped at Birkot, thirty miles below Drosh, and in Badakshan on the north, and Kohistan on the west, other columns are ready to move into Kafiristan. The *Pioneer*, the official journal of the Government of India, declares that "the Kafirs are doomed, for although they may stubbornly defend the difficult passes and defiles that lead to the cultivated valleys, the Afghans are certain to be successful in the long run. They are far better armed than the tribesmen, and their mountain artillery gives them a further advantage. Kafiristan will cease to exist as a separate State within a year."

There is little doubt but that this authoritative utterance is correct, both in its estimate of the means of Kafir resistance and of the ultimate result of the struggle. For it is not to be believed that the Kafirs will make "the discreet and prompt surrender" which a correspondent of the *Times* cynically recommends. It is thirty years ago that the ruler of Badakshan invaded their country with 1,000 men, and succeeded in capturing two villages ; but at the siege of the third the people, seeing resistance hopeless, dismantled their houses, and with the beams made an immense pyre, on which they burnt themselves with their women and children. This is how the Kafirs answer the demand to surrender to slavery and acceptance of a hated creed.

The question how far England is responsible for the imminent invasion of Kafiristan should be considered with care and moderation. Unfortunately, the material for a conclusive decision is not available, seeing that the agreement concluded between the Government of India and the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN during Mr. H. DURAND'S recent mission to Kabul has never been published. It cannot be doubted that the Government will hasten to lay it before Parliament at the earliest opportunity. The Chitral Blue Book, however, allows the drift of the agreement, so far as Kafiristan is concerned, to be very clearly seen. On p. 44, in a dispatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, occur the words :—"The demarcation of the Afghan boundary under the DURAND agreement, in which the AMIR undertakes to abstain from interference in Chitral, and the transfer to Afghanistan of the whole of

the Kafir country up to Chitral." It is true that we had no power to transfer a district which did not belong to us in any way, and over which we had never exercised the shadow of authority or control ; but what the AMIR doubtless understood by the agreement was, that the British Government would raise no objection to the invasion of Kafiristan and the subjugation of its people. It should further be noted that the action of the AMIR has been stimulated by the recent visit of Dr. ROBERTSON, the Chitral Political Agent, with a large escort, to a part of Kafiristan, which has encouraged the Kafirs to look for English protection, and has both irritated the AMIR and caused him to hasten his military preparations. Doctors, however brave and resolute, are but poor diplomatists, whether in South Africa or Chitral, and several millions would have been saved to the Empire if they had been confined to their medical duties, instead of having been allowed to engage us in unnecessary quarrels, and confuse situations which they were incompetent to control. In addition to the direct abandonment of Kafiristan by engagement, the British Government is further responsible indirectly, in that they have encouraged the military proclivities of the AMIR ; the skilled artisans who direct his arsenals and workshops have been knighted ; we have taught him to make military roads, and only the other day presented him with 10,000 stand of our newest repeating rifles. These are to be tried on the poor Kafirs, armed with knives and bows and arrows.

The AMIR is not to blame. He has long desired the conquest of Kafiristan, and he thinks that the hour is come. He is within his rights, and a holy war against the infidel, with Kafir boys and girls as the prize, will be popular in Afghanistan. Ever since I proclaimed him AMIR in Kabul, I have endeavoured, when he has been unjustly attacked, to defend his loyalty, and to interpret his sentiments and policy to the English people. I do not blame him now. But I do blame the late Liberal Government, with LORD ROSEBERY at their head, who is now whimpering about the Armenians, when he wilfully abandoned a more interesting people, to whom we were bound more closely, to Slavery and death. It is not yet too late. The high passes of Kafiristan will be closed by snow until May, and timely negotiation may stay the AMIR's hand. There is no occasion to embarrass the Government by discussing the concession which would ensure this ; but it may be done without injury to English interests. We appeal to the Patriotic Party which is now in power, and which has shown so jealous a regard for the honour of the country, to endeavour to save the independence of an ancient and chivalrous people, and to refuse to allow the escutcheon of England to be stained with innocent blood.

LEPEL GRIFFIN

The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

(*From the "Globe."*)

WHATEVER may be the merits of the claim of the "black-clad" Kafirs of the Hindu Kush to a Greek descent, and however authoritative the statements of classical writers may be on the subject, supported by my excavations of "Græco-Buddhistic" sculptures on the borders of and in Swat, in 1870-72, there can be no doubt as to the necessity of protecting that most ancient, handsome, and heroic race from extermination or enslavement, alike in the interests of research into Aryan and pre-Aryan landmarks, of scholarship, of humanity, of Christianity, and of the Anglo-Afghan alliance. Before the DURAND Treaty is published, by which we took away

from the AMEER his practical suzerainty over the kindred Pathan tribes of Bajaur and Swat in return for heterogeneous Kafiristan—an act of betrayal on our part, which is unparalleled in history—it will be difficult for the British public to judge of the full extent of the shameful bargain. The letter from the Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY shows the evasiveness of the official explanations that are likely to be put forward to justify it, but I may state that, at any rate, the Kafirs themselves, who are proverbial for fidelity and truthfulness, have ever relied on British protection and honour. In 1874 they were advised by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to bring their complaints about the Pathan Slave-raids on them, which alone led to the occasional killing of Mahomedan kidnappers, to the knowledge of our Commissioner of Peshawur, and a letter, in reply, was sent to that Society by one of the Kafir chiefs. You will remember the excitement caused in that year by your article on "An Interesting Race," and you may be glad to hear that JAMSHED, who then represented the Kafirs and their grievances in this country, the nephew of the famous General FERAMORZ, is still alive. The betrayal of our loyal friends and poorer relatives, the Kafirs, is really part of a policy that must bring about the inevitable intervention of the "great emancipator of the North," and lead to the eventual division of Afghanistan between England and Russia. I, therefore, protest against it, both as an old and tried friend of Afghanistan, and in the interests of a race that has special claims on our best sympathy. Indeed, it would only be worldly wise to stop, as one word could do it, a "jihád," or "holy war," against the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, that in its remote results must extend to their "brethren," the British Kafirs of India.

NIZAMUDDIN, the Mullah of Huda, who is now proclaiming it against the former, did so against us at the time of our difficulties in Kabul some years ago. The exchange which has taken place of Bajaur for Kafiristan has seriously diminished the legitimate prestige of the AMEER among the Pathans, although the present "jihád" will give it a temporary renewal, as well as bestow a Kafir boy or girl—the most coveted possession of a Pathan—on every Kabul soldier or household. It is only just to say that the AMEER has given notice to the Kafirs to embrace Mahomedanism in order to escape the fate that is in store for them; but the Kafirs have resisted similar offers, as well as the attacks on them, for over 1,000 years, and, although their poor bows, arrows, and daggers are now confronted with a large and disciplined force, armed with the latest engines of destruction, they are not likely to adopt the advice of the *Times*—which they do not see—of "a prompt and discreet surrender." In 1866 a fortified Kafir village, attacked on the side of Badakshan, seeing resistance hopeless, preferred a voluntary "Suttee" to embracing Islam or becoming Slaves to Mahomedans. The wounded Kafirs, emaciated by hunger, gave their last strength to gathering large beams, on which the women poured their last store of oil, and, holding their children by the hand, entered the huge funeral pyre, where the invaders found them, all burned to death. History may repeat itself, and, unless we save Kafiristan, leave a blot on British honour, such as no subsequent professions can efface.

To the *Globe*, which took the initiative in the matter so many years ago, belongs the privilege and the duty of taking energetic steps on behalf of a cause so dear to every man of education, and to every lover of the good name of England. I see that a petition to Government is suggested by one of your correspondents, and an appeal to learned societies and representative scholars has already been issued by a few specialists and bodies interested in a cause of research and humanity. May both movements be successful, and may it be given to your enlightened and generous contemporaries to join your lead! Personally, as a life-long supporter of Mahomedan

learning and autonomies, to which I have given my time and means, I feel grieved to have to say anything that may appear unfriendly to even superficial Moslems, but I am convinced that doing right is alone the best policy for Mahomedans, and that in saving Kafiristan we are also saving Afghanistan. By all means let the AMEER have the external relations of the former country, as we have those of Bajaur, but don't let him annex that Danæan gift, just as we do not annex Bajaur. The AMEER, in his letters to me, has shown what great store he sets by the friendship of the British people; let him be officially told that we are an anti-Slavery nation, the friendship of which is put to too severe a strain by its most esteemed ally appearing to countenance the abomination of Slavery, which is condemned by civilised mankind, and the spirit of his own religion, for a true "jihād" can only be waged when Islam is in danger. Of this there can be no question, for the Kafirs only want to be let alone. A most unworthy attempt is now being made in telegrams and official communications from Chitral to mix up Pathan Slave-raids with so-called Kafir retaliation-raids, in order to minimise the sympathy for the Kafirs, and the disgrace of surrendering them to their hereditary foes. Suffice it to say that, when even a worm is allowed to turn, the Kafir does retaliate when he has a chance, on the inexorable destroyer of his home. If the Kafirs had been aggressive, there would have been no Kafir left by this time to enslave or exterminate, for the Pathans would long ago have destroyed them, since A.D. 860. In conclusion, if bargains are to be struck, let us cheerfully allow the AMEER to have a representative of his country in England in return for his sparing Kafiristan. He is entitled to enter into direct relations with us, especially as we always profess to treat him as "an independent sovereign." An Afghan Minister in England can do no possible harm, and may do an immense amount of good, by giving our Government a far better insight into Afghan feelings and politics than any European official. Our principles, however, do not permit us to receive the representative of a Slave-raiding nation. Let us satisfy the dearest wish of the AMEER's heart, and let him spare Kafiristan in return, as a worthy New Year's Gift to the civilisation of England.—27th December, 1895.

The following portraits are those of two Kafir Slave pages now at Kabul :



NOTE.

The Kafirs claim Greek descent and, therefore, call themselves "the brethren of the Europeans," and have ever trusted British protection and honour, not because they, with the British, are alike "Kafirs" or "infidels" in Muhammadan estimation. Indeed, the nucleus of the Kafirs is more truly ancient Greek than that of modern

Hellas, and if the Philhellenes deserved the support of every man of culture in their attempts to free the Greeks from the Turkish yoke, the Kafirs also should not be allowed to perish by an educated world. The Macedonians under Alexander the Great recognised in them the descendants of a still older Greek colony, planted by Dionysus, with whom they amalgamated and spread, so that the descent from Alexander is claimed by the ex-ruling houses of Hunza-Nagyr, Chitral, Badakhshan, Shignan, Wakhan, and other neighbouring principalities. Muhammadan persecution added to Kafiristan Zoroastrian elements on the North and Hindu and Buddhist elements on the South and West. The classical pose and figures of the Kafirs inspired the Græco-Buddhist sculptors in Swat and inscriptions in archaic Greek characters, yet to be deciphered, preceded those in Aryano-Pali. The Bacchic dance and hymns and innumerable Greek memories are still found in Kafiristan, but the former alone spread all over Dardistan. This invaluable classical inheritance has already been injured by our invasions of Chitral and Hunza-Nagyr, and will now be destroyed by the assimilation of pagan Kafiristan to the surrounding Muhammadanism. Dialects will perish with rites, and even the combination of kindred tribes, hitherto living their own secluded history, will confound research, whilst their displacement from almost prehistoric *habitats* will efface local traditions that a civilised world ought to strain its utmost to preserve.—*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1896.

IN Mr. H. C. THOMSON'S "Chitral Campaign," he refers as follows to the Kafirs, whom he met about the Lavarai Pass, chapter XXI., page 283: "They are called 'Kafirs,' or idolaters, by their Muhammadan neighbours, for whom they cherish an implacable hatred; not without just cause, for they (the Muhammadans) are continually making forays into their country, and carrying off their women and children. The women are said to be very beautiful; indeed, the Afghans have a saying that the most valuable possessions a man can have are a Bahuch mare and a Kafiristani Slave girl. The Kafirs naturally retaliate, but they are handicapped for want of proper weapons. They have only bows and arrows, which they use with great precision, and daggers."

Action taken by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society respecting the Kafirs and Afghanistan.

THE attention of the Society was first called to the dangers threatening the Kafir tribes by Dr. G. W. LEITNER in October last, these dangers being described by him in an interesting and powerful paper in the October number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, of which he is the proprietor. The subject was considered by the Committee at its meeting in November, when the officials were requested to prepare a statement for the next meeting. This statement was duly presented at the December meeting, but still further information being asked for, the matter was postponed until January, when, owing to some misconceptions, the Committee resolved to defer action for the present. Meanwhile, further important information was available showing that the question was one of urgency, and could no longer be safely delayed, and at its meeting in February, which was very largely

attended, and at which Dr. LEITNER, as visitor and as a member of the Society, explained the exact position of affairs so far as they could be gathered from Indian and other sources, the following Memorial was passed, and a Deputation from the Committee was appointed to present it at the India Office without any delay, which was done on the 10th February :—

MEMORIAL FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, P.C., M.P.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

MY LORD,—The question of the precarious condition of the Siah Posh Kafirs of the Hindu Kush has once more engaged the serious attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the continued hostilities against these almost defenceless hill tribes on the part of the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN having been fully confirmed by correspondence in the Indian and English Press, and other sources.

The enslavement, if not the extirpation, of this ancient and interesting race would appear to be the present policy of the AMIR, and in connection with this question the Committee of this Society desire to call your Lordship's attention to a Memorial, addressed by them in March, 1874, to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, then H.M. Principal Secretary of State for India, when a similar but less formidable process of enslavement and destruction was carried on by the late AMIR, SHERE ALI. The Committee, on that occasion, stated the well-known fact that so long as the invaders of Kafiristan possessed only the ordinary weapons of the country the Kafirs were able to resist the forces brought against them by the Afghan Chiefs, but at the same time they reminded his Lordship that since the AMIR had become a feudatory of the Indian Government, receiving yearly large sums of money and several thousands of the latest improved fire-arms, it was feared that the Kafirs would eventually be subdued and enslaved—a calamity the more to be deplored as it would be brought about by the aid afforded to a Mohammedan ruler by a Christian nation whose policy had been to exterminate the Slave-trade and Slavery wherever found. They, therefore, called upon Her Majesty's Government to use its influence with the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN for the extinction of Slavery in his dominions.

In acknowledging the receipt of the Memorial, the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY stated to the Committee that he fully sympathised with the views therein expressed, and promised to forward a copy at once to the Government of India with a request that a full report on this subject might be forwarded to him.

The report asked for not having been received by the Committee, that body addressed VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, the Secretary of State for India in 1878, who in reply stated that although a report had been asked for by LORD

SALISBURY no answer had been received by Her Majesty's Government in London.

No one will venture to call in question the fact that the AMIR is now in the annual receipt of a very large subsidy from the Indian Government, besides having been placed in the position to build an immense arsenal. This state of things has very recently been described by Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN in the following words :—

"In addition to the direct abandonment of Kafiristan by engagement, the British Government is further responsible, indirectly, in that they have encouraged the military proclivities of the AMIR ; the skilled artisans who direct his arsenals and workshops have been knighted ; we have taught him to make military roads, and, only the other day, presented him with 10,000 stand of our newest repeating rifles. These are to be tried upon the poor Kafirs, armed with knives, and bows and arrows."

This statement would appear to be in no way exaggerated, for, on his arrival in England, a fortnight ago, Sir SALTER PYNE, who directs the works at the AMIR's Arsenal, stated in the public press, with apparent satisfaction, that he was able "to turn out 10,000 Martini cartridges and 10,000 Snider cartridges daily, two field guns per week, with all equipments, and fifteen rifles a day. Quick-firing guns," he said, "are produced at the rate of two a week, and a plant for making time and percussion fuses is in full work. A gunpowder plant has been sanctioned," and he intended arranging for this during his brief stay in England.

The Committee would, therefore, respectfully submit to your Lordship that the fears expressed in the Memorial addressed to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY in 1874, respecting the probable subjection and enslavement of the Kafirs by Afghanistan, owing to the introduction, on a large scale, of improved firearms, is in imminent danger of being realised. They would, therefore, most earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government to use its great influence with the AMIR, not only for the prevention of exterminating raids upon the Kafirs, and other people of the Hindu Kush, but also for the abolition of Slavery throughout Afghanistan itself, which alone can put a stop to the continued capture of Slaves, that has for centuries been the cause of predatory attacks upon neighbouring and weaker tribes.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

7th February, 1896.

REPLY.

INDIA OFFICE, 19th February, 1896.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th February, bringing to notice the request of the Committee of the BRITISH

AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY that Her Majesty's Government will use its influence for the prevention of raids upon the Kafirs, and for the abolition of Slavery generally in Afghanistan.

2. I am to inform your Committee that the Memorial will be forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A. GODLEY.

C. H. ALLEN, ESQ., F.R.G.S., *Secretary*,
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Interview with Dr. Leitner.

Dr. LEITNER, on the invitation of the Committee, has favoured the Society with an interesting account of Slavery and the Slave-trade in Afghanistan and Kafiristan, illustrating his statements with specimens of a Kafir quiver and arrow, a vessel similar to a Greek amphora, and a shoe and dagger, which had been given to him by a person in high office, with the view to enlist their sympathy for the Kafirs. He dwelt on the great desire among the Pathans and Afghans to possess a Kafir Slave boy or girl, owing to the faithful and trusting disposition of the Kafirs, and, he feared, also, owing to their great beauty. "Alas!" says an Afghan writer, "that they are so few, and so dear." Now, with the help of British rifles and subsidies, Kafir Slaves have already become numerous and cheap, as the result of the present campaign. With the exception of the Kafirs and the Shias, he did not think that the natives of Afghanistan proper were subject to so much local Slavery as the Central Asians had been prior to the abolition of the institution by Russia in Bokhara and Khiva. The Kafirs, amongst themselves, although addicted to tribal wars, were essentially a peaceful people, but, owing to raids, they had been driven to retaliation on the Lowarai and Dora passes which led to Chitral. Even then it was the Mohammedan ruler of Chitral who compelled them to do so, in order not to be enslaved themselves by him, for he was the greatest trader in human flesh on that border. With respect to what had been done by the Society in the past, Dr. LEITNER had attended a meeting of the Committee in 1874, which was by no means so well attended as the one at which he was now speaking, and he was extremely glad to find that there were so many gentlemen who were interested in the question of Slavery abolition in all parts of the world. He had, in 1874, brought to the meetings of the Committee JAMSHED, a Kafir Slave, who was a nephew of the celebrated General FERAMORZ, in the Afghan service, the friend of General LUMSDEN, who was the first English writer of recent times on Kafiristan and Afghanistan, and whose report was of the highest authority with our Government of that time. General FERAMORZ was himself a Slave, and at his death his children and relatives, JAMSHED among the number, were distributed as Slaves amongst the Afghan higher soldiery. In that year (1874) the Committee memorialised the Government on behalf of the Kafirs, and he had still in his possession a letter from the Secretary (Mr. MILLARD) requesting him, on behalf of the Committee, to keep his eye upon the subject, and report to the Society when occasion required. Further, the Society had sent by JAMSHED, for whom they obtained a passage and otherwise helped, a letter to certain Kafir chiefs, informing them that the English were their friends, and recommending them to submit their grievances to the British Government. To that letter a reply was sent by the Kafirs,

but, owing to its being written in a form of Persian which was undecipherable, its full purport had never been understood. He had reason, however, to believe that it was one thanking the Society, and the British generally, for the interest evinced in their people.

He, therefore, much regretted that the matter had not been taken up last October, when he first reported to the Society that an Afghan campaign was immediately impending on them, which would, more than all the previous raids during the last 1,000 years, reduce them to enslavement and national extinction.

The Kafirs were taken principally for sexual purposes to the Pathan and Afghan households; Badakshan being the principal Slave centre for Afghanistan, as would be seen in a reliable account of the institution of Slavery there by JAMSHED, which had been published in a recent number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

To come to the present time: Under the DURAND Treaty, which was made quite under a misconception of its final effects, England had undertaken not to interfere with any steps which might be taken by Afghanistan against Kafiristan. The Treaty had really been made "to round off" the map of the Russo-Afghan frontier, and he had found in a special map by a political officer that the very name "Kafiristan" did not exist in it. This map was drawn in 1875, long before the effects of the DURAND Treaty were known. But it was impossible to wipe out a big country, formerly as large as France, and now reduced to about the size of Bulgaria (the intervening people having since been enslaved), merely for the purpose of "rounding off a map."

The same MULLA NIZAMUDDIN, of Huda, who had preached a "jihād" against the English in Afghanistan, was now doing the same thing with reference to the Kafirs, or infidels, for the purpose of forcing the people to become Mohammedans. The AMIR had declared that he did not wish to convert them by force, and had sent Sir SALTER PYNE to say that only persuasion would be used, but this he, Dr. LEITNER, did not think would be the case amongst a fanatical soldiery and people like the Afghans.

There was no further time for delay, for hostilities had commenced, and had only been checked by heavy snow. The winter was often a good time for a campaign in the Hindu Kush, as the rivers, being covered with ice, would become practically roads for the AMIR's soldiers.

The Kafirs had already lost many thousands, whilst the Afghan loss numbered some 1,500. Large quantities of the Kafir ancestral sculptures had been destroyed, which was a great loss to science.

Dr. LEITNER further stated that in 1874 the number of Kafirs was estimated at 300,000; many of them had since been enslaved and killed, so that he should think at the present time they were probably 100,000 less, say, 200,000 altogether. ALEXANDER THE GREAT found these people of greater Hellenic antiquity than those he brought with him. They were the ancient Nyseans, and were, in some parts, as white as the English, though much rosier, and, if he might be forgiven for saying so, much handsomer.

With reference to their religion, there was an ancient Parsee element owing to the immigration of Zoroastrians about 1,000 years ago. There was also an element of Buddhism on the west. On the south, Hindus had been driven into the hills, and consequently they had introduced some of their religious terms, and were darker in colour. In the north, where the Kafirs were of a grey, reddish colour, the Zoroastrian element prevailed. But they were not averse to Christianity, for they

sent down to the Peshawar missionaries and asked that Christian teachers might be sent to them. "IMRA" was their chief God, but the God that ruled the Kafirs was GISH, the "Word of GOD" made man. The mythology of the Kafirs also pointed to a Greek anthropomorphic origin; although there were no horses in Kafiristan, their ancestral images were of an equestrian character, being sometimes centaurs—figures which did not belong to Hindu mythology. When he, Dr. LEITNER, held an educational appointment on the frontier circle of the Punjab, he had dug up Græco-Buddhistic images in Swat, which was formerly also a part of Kafiristan. He had received four reports when on special duty regarding Dardistan, in which Kafiristan was included, from Mohammedan leaders of raids into Kafiristan, which distinctly showed that the Mohammedans always began the raiding.

All that the Kafirs wanted was to be let alone "as fairies in the mountains," and to have their families protected from the Slave-raiders.

The 1st of March, or a few weeks hence, was the date fixed by the Afghan commander-in-chief for the final subjugation of the Kafirs, which would entail the killing of the elder, and the enslavement of the younger members of the tribes. Three armies had already gathered around Kafiristan, so that there was no further time to be lost. What had to be done was to tell the AMIR that we disapproved of the institution of Slavery. Dr. LEITNER was quite convinced that the AMIR would be amenable to the expression of English public opinion "if properly put to him." A high official had asked him to request the Society, as the minimum it could urge, to demand that the right of asylum should be granted to the fleeing Kafirs. But this right of asylum already existed in British territories. Cashmir was, in his opinion, the only place suitable for such an asylum, but they would be probably all captured before arriving there. Swat and Chitral had also been suggested, but neither of these in his opinion would be suitable, for climatic reasons or the hostility of the natives. The same important official had also expressed his pleasure at seeing Mr. ALLEN's letter in the *Times* of December 19th, in which he stated that, though there might possibly be one or two technical errors, it was in the main correct, and he hoped that he would go on in spite of all opposition.

With regard to practical steps, the Society might very usefully memorialize the Government on the same lines, but stronger than it did in 1874, and a meeting might afterwards be held with special reference to the question.

By allowing Afghanistan to subjugate Kafiristan, England was undoing all the good which might arise from subsidising the AMIR, for Russia considered that England had taken the country for herself, and Russia was therefore threatening to take Badakshan, which she only refrained from taking before on the understanding that Afghanistan should not advance further than was laid down in the Convention of 1872.

The Secretary had told him that the question was being watched by the Society, and he submitted that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY should speak with at least as certain a voice as it did in 1874.

Dr. LEITNER expressed an opinion that the DURAND Treaty entitled the AMIR to the political and to the external military relations, if any, of Kafiristan, but not to exterminate or enslave the Kafirs. Besides, Kafiristan had ever been an independent country, and had never formed part of Afghanistan. Finally, it was not ours to give, although its people looked to us as their natural protectors.

Slavery in Chitral itself had not yet been stamped out completely, and he referred to the right of a chief over a villein's bride even before her marriage. Our first duty in Chitral should be to set free the Kalasha Kafirs, who were serfs to the Chitralis.

Conference Respecting the Siab Posh Kafirs.

A CONFERENCE, convened by the ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY, in co-operation with the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and other bodies, was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on the 18th February. ARTHUR PEASE, Esq., M.P. (*President* of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY), presided, and amongst those present were Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN (Indian National Congress), Mr. LEWIS FRY, M.P., Mr. BHOWNAGGREE, M.P., Sir H. H. HOWORTH, M.P., Dr. BEDDOE, F.R.S., Mr. E. W. BRABROOK (President of the Anthropological Institute), Dr. G. W. LEITNER, Dr. EVANS DARBY (Peace Society), General Sir H. PRENDERGAST, Captain PETRIE (Victoria Institute), Mr. H. GURNEY, Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, Mr. E. W. BROOKS, Rev. R. W. THOMPSON, Mr. FRANK SPENCE, Mr. J. D. APPLETON, Mr. H. R. FOX-BOURNE, Mr. CHAS. H. ALLEN, Mr. J. EASTOE TEALL, etc.

The Chairman said that as Member of the Aborigines' Protection Society and as President of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY he had been asked to preside at that gathering, and stated that Kafiristan was joined on three sides by Afghanistan, and was south-west of Chitral, recently annexed to us. In 1893, the British and Afghan Governments came to the conclusion that there should be a delimitation of the frontier. The result had been, so far as Chitral was concerned, of undoubted benefit, but in regard to Kafiristan they had a different story. The Kafirs were an ethnological puzzle. They were a fine, handsome people, and their women and girls were much desired by the Afghans for additions to their harems. They had for centuries been subject to raids by the Afghans, who carried off their women and girls. It was said that the worship of the Kafirs was of a low type, and that in civilisation, if judged by the use of the rifle, they had not made much advance. Since the delimitation of the boundary, their position had become worse, because the AMIR was determined that they should adopt the creed of Islam. To effect his purpose he had sent a large force into the country, and the Kafirs had strongly resisted. The AMIR was England's ally, and received a large subsidy from the English Government, and it was said that he had a great regard for the feeling of the English people. It was, therefore, the duty of the people of this country to let him know that they were entirely opposed to this attempt to force the Kafirs to accept his religion; that the whole of this country was entirely opposed to Slavery and the Slave-trade.

SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN.

Mr. FOX-BOURNE then read the following interesting letter from General Sir NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN:—

"TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.

"LANDSWOOD, NEAR SOUTHAMPTON, *February 15th, 1896.*

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 7th instant, I beg to assure you that the object for which your conference is to be held on 18th instant has my heartfelt

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sympathy, and I hope it may succeed in arousing the minds of the Government and the public generally to the urgency for such steps being taken as may yet be possible to avert the renewal of the invasion of Kafiristan by the troops of the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN; or that if the Government considers that it cannot arrest a continuance of the invasion, it will, at all events, promptly and vigorously avail itself of every means within its power to mitigate the horrors which are the sure accompaniment of Afghan conquest, which are the more terrible when the vanquished, as infidels, are considered to be outside the pale of human mercy.

"Who could have supposed a few years ago that the necessity would ever arise for Englishmen to have to assemble to plead the cause of a race whose history is lost in past ages, and whose heroic courage and love of independence have, up to within the last few months, preserved their homes from invasion by the implacable foe which has for centuries past encircled their territory?"

"Ever since the mission of MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE to the SHAH OF CABUL in 1808, the Government of India, and many persons of European nations, have taken an interest in the race occupying the valleys geographically known as Kafiristan. This interest has naturally gone on increasing as the British frontier and influence have extended beyond the Indus, and we have been placed in a better position for acquiring more trustworthy information in regard to them. Such means as have been within our power have been employed to bring us into friendly communication with these people, and so far did we succeed in gaining their confidence, and lead them to trust in our friendship, that some two years ago they allowed a British officer to enter their territory as a welcome guest. Indeed, it was considered to be the mission of the Government of India to afford such political and moral protection to the Kafir race as might be within its power, for it was felt that no national heroism, however great, could enable them to continue to successfully resist the attacks of their Mohammedan neighbours, now that these latter were armed with the weapons of modern warfare, whilst the Kafirs remained almost unpossessed of firearms of any description, and had to rely, as of old, on bows and arrows and knives.

"The views entertained by the Government of India upon the subject of Kafiristan were well known to the AMIR, and his Highness at that time acted as if he was ready to meet its wishes.

"Such was the position which the two Governments held towards each other until our intervention in the affairs of Chitral assumed the appearance of our intention to retain possession of that state. That measure was, for various reasons, most distasteful to the AMIR, as also to the general feeling of the neighbouring Mohammedan tribes, and our relations at Cabul became less cordial. In the autumn of 1893 Mr. (now Sir HENRY) DURAND was sent on a mission to Cabul to settle the Chitral and other outstanding questions, and this afforded an opportunity to the AMIR to press for British acceptance of his claim to include Kafiristan as coming within his sphere of jurisdiction—a right, in one sense, more precious to his Highness than that to which he acceded in regard to Chitral.

"Every previous ruler of Afghanistan, and every Afghan zealot, has always had at heart the conquest of the Kafir race, and now has come the time when everything appears to them opportune for the accomplishment of that long unfulfilled desire. The bloody work of conquest has, we are told, already proceeded apace. Gold medals are said to have been presented by the AMIR to the successful generals, and the subjugation of the unhappy people is to be proceeded with as soon as the season will permit.

"It is true that we have been assured through the Press, on the authority of an Englishman lately returned from Cabul, that little was talked of in that capital as to what was taking place in Kafiristan ; whilst it was stated that the object of the AMIR was merely to open up a new route to his province of Badakshan for his own purposes, as also to assist the English to defend India ; and that it was therefore better to do such work in times of peace than to wait until the emergency arose. Those who can credit such a pretext must indeed be easily deceived. My own conviction is that these reasons were assigned by the AMIR in order to throw the British public off its guard, until such time as the desired end was accomplished ; after which interposition would no longer be of any avail.

"I do not believe that the people of England can form any idea of the deeds of outrage that have already been committed during the successes said to have been gained by the AMIR's forces ; and I believe that there will be neither the inclination nor the power on the part of his officers to repress in the future a repetition of the same acts of cruelty and shame. There is no abomination known to man that will not find vent during the subjection of the unhappy race now called upon to defend all that is most cherished in this life by men, women, and children.

"In support of my belief as to what will occur should the soldiery and their accompanying Ghazis be left to work their will, full confirmation is to be found in what took place a few years ago, when the Hazara tribe had to succumb to the Afghan troops. The men were mercilessly slaughtered after a brave but vain resistance. As to the women and children, we are told by an English surgeon, who was in the service of the AMIR, that Cabul was overstocked by them. Neither age nor position, nor any family tie, afforded any protection to these prizes of Afghan conquest, and for as long as life remains to these unfortunate creatures they will continue to be at the mercy of their owners. If such was the tyranny imposed upon a tribe which acknowledges the Mohammedan Prophet, what clemency can the people of Kafiristan expect ? It is true that the people of Hazara are of the Sheeah persuasion, and as such are not accepted by their Sunnee co-religionists as of the orthodox faith, and consequently they are despised by the Pathan and Afghan races.

"Although I have felt compelled to denounce the acts of a nation professing the Mohammedan religion, I must affirm that I have done so without being in any way prejudiced against the Afghans on account of their faith. Indeed, I believe I have the right to say that their Prophet severely forbids, and pronounces future condign punishment to every one of his followers who approaches the Almighty in his name, who shall commit the inhuman acts now permitted to go on unchecked in the dominions of the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN.

"Our justification for urging upon his Highness the necessity for putting an end to such atrocities rests upon the grounds that we placed him upon the throne ; that we have guaranteed him against foreign aggression ; that we have maintained him in power by our influence and moral support ; that we have granted him a large annual subsidy, and that it is the British Government which has equipped his military forces.

"What more could a great Power do for a neighbouring sovereign ? And who can deny that such acts of friendship do not confer upon England the right to insist upon the repression of cruel wrongs which have as yet cried out in vain for redress ?

"I have now given my reasons for wishing success to the cause you advocate, and I can only trust that in any engagements entered into by our Government with

the AMIR, in regard to Kafiristan, no promise may be accepted as valid until it has been carried into effect.

"Yours faithfully,

"NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *General.*"

The Secretary, Mr. FOX BOURNE, said that letters regretting inability to be present had been received from Sir JOSEPH PEASE, M.P., Sir J. LUBBOCK, M.P., Mr. FREDERIC HARRISON, and others. Mr. BROWNAGGREE, M.P., moved a resolution in these terms : "That this meeting protests against the measures now being taken by the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN for the subjugation of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, resulting in the slaughter of large numbers, the enslavement of many, and ruin of the rest, their forcible conversion to Islam, and the overthrow of their native institutions ; that in its opinion this ancient and heroic community ought, in the interests of science as well as of civilisation and humanity, to be protected from the merciless attack which is being made upon their lives, property, and social organisation ; and that it earnestly appeals to Her Majesty's Government promptly and vigorously to exert its influence with Her Majesty's highly-subsidised ally, the AMIR ABDUR-RAHMAN, by requiring that the present persecution shall be abandoned and the Kafirs left in possession of their hardly-acquired liberties and their historic landmarks." The resolution was seconded by Sir W. WEDDERBURN (who thought a few words to the AMIR from our Foreign Office would have great influence), which was supported by Mr. LEWIS FRY, Mr. BRABROOK, President of the Anthropological Society (who, while putting humanitarian considerations in the foreground, spoke of the peculiar ethnological interest of the Kafirs), Dr. BEDDOE (who said that the Kafirs had repelled the attacks of TAMERLANE, and were now likely to be wiped out by the arms which we had practically put in the hands of the Afghans), and Dr. LEITNER (who was sure that an appeal put to the AMIR in a proper manner would meet with a favourable response). The resolution was carried, and the meeting agreed that it should be sent to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India. Mr. WRIGHT BROOKS, Mr. F. SPENCE, and Mr. FRANCIS W. FOX also spoke, and Mr. C. H. ALLEN, in seconding a vote of thanks to the Chairman, referred to the fact that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had memorialised the Government at various times during the past twenty years.

Dr. Robertson's Report on the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush.

To the Editor of the "MORNING POST."

SIR,—The writer in this morning's *Times*, on the above subject, shows his bias by calling the "Siah Posh" or the "black-clad" Kafirs "blacklegged," and, indeed, makes them appear "blacklegs," in contradiction to the favourable reports, regarding their fidelity, truthfulness, and other virtues, of WOOD, LUMSDEN, and others, who

have written about them. Now, "Siah Posh" means "black garb," and is a common Persian word. As little would we be justified in calling them "blackguards," in the modern sense of the word, because the Kafir Guards of their mountain Thermopylæ are dressed in black. Not unlike ourselves, again, their native Parliaments often end in mere talk, and an injured husband obtains compensation in money or goods from the male offender. The writer, in his desire to lessen our sympathy for a race that philanthropy, science, and good policy should alike combine to preserve, omits that portion of the condemnatory extract of the Report in question, in which, together with other passages, Dr. ROBERTSON is loud in his praise of the strong domestic affections of the Kafirs. It is difficult to believe in the existence of general adultery where those ties are strong, and, further, the fact of land and its cultivation being the special domain of the females would argue against the alleged universal immorality. I will, therefore, endeavour to give your readers a fairer view of the question by quoting the passage, with others, that the *Times* writer ignores. These passages, *inter alia*, are also compatible with the theory of the Greek descent of the Kafirs, though, even if this were not the case, we should still be justified, in their interests as well as ours, in protesting against the extirpation or enslavement of a race that has ever trusted to British protection. That they are pale-faced and call themselves "the brethren of the Europeans" is also no argument in favour of their betrayal, or of allowing them to be exterminated. I also deny that they are robbers, though they certainly kill Mohammedans that kidnap their children. If, however, a Mohammedan can read they give him "the benefit of clergy," and entertain him with honour. Europeans are safe in their country. Dr. ROBERTSON was hospitably entertained by them, and raised their hope of British protection. In fact, it was his visit that roused the AMIR's suspicion of our intention to annex Kafiristan for ourselves, and that precipitated the present campaign. Nor is the *Times* writer quite consistent in his sneers at the bravery of the Kafirs, for if the firing of one rifle made them scamper away, their heroic patriotism overcame that fear, and enabled them to inflict with their poor daggers and arrows a loss of 1,500 men on the invading Afghan disciplined forces, armed with Maxims and other modern weapons.

The statement, again, of the silent and stealthy approach of the watching Kafir to surprise his enemy seems to be his only chance, and could scarcely have been witnessed by Dr. ROBERTSON, just as he must have derived his notions of Kafir immorality from hearsay. Indeed, his own admission as to the ignorance of the Kafir languages, and his reliance on interpreters and a mainly Mohammedan following, militates against the accuracy of his statements, which he would himself regret being still further amplified to the insult of a race that we have so injured by "making over the whole of the Kafir country to Afghanistan up to Chitral, under the DURAND Agreement," to quote the Chitral Blue Book. The *Times* writer airily speaks of the distribution of the fair and frail Kafir women among Afghans, but ignores the hideous purpose for which Kafir boys are ever kidnapped by Pathans and Afghans. The betrayal of Kafiristan is a crime on humanity, whether the Kafirs are saints or sinners, though I do not believe that their extermination or enslavement was contemplated by us when the transfer to their hereditary foe was made. The AMIR is justly irritated with us, owing to an official blunder, which should be at once rectified, but he is too wise to risk the alienation of British sympathy, and with it of his subsidy. Nor will Russia be balked off Badakhshan by a practical breach of at least the spirit of our agreements with her, in which certainly the annexation of Kafiristan by Afghanistan was never contemplated. The following is the completion, with other

passages, of the extract quoted from page 4 of ROBERTSON's report :—"If it were not for their splendid courage, their domestic affections, and their overpowering love of freedom, Kafirs would be a hateful people. Some of them have the heads of philosophers and statesmen. Their features are Aryan, and their mental capabilities are considerable. Their love of decoration, their carving, their architecture, all point to a time when they were higher in the human scale than they are at present. They never could be brutal savages, as are some of the African races, for example, because they are of a different type. . . . Admirers of form would delight in Kafirs. . . . They give such an impression of gracefulness and strength. . . . Their gestures are most dramatic. . . . The nose is particularly well-shaped. . . . They contain the handsomest people I have seen. . . . The cast of feature is occasionally of a beautiful Greek type."

Many passages might be quoted from Dr. ROBERTSON's own report to disprove his statement regarding the immorality of the Kafirs, a favourite and false accusation by their Mohammedan enemies, to repeat which is, at the present conjuncture, the abetment of a crime by tending to lessen British sympathy for them, and so far to prevent its expression, which would, no doubt, have a salutary effect on the AMIR. The Kafirs look upon us as their wealthy kindred "who went to London," leaving the poorer relatives to settle in Hindu Kush, but they still look to us for protection. One of their sections, "the Kám, were akin to the Russians." As Dr. ROBERTSON pertinently observes (page 3), "This shows that the Kafirs . . . know something of the sentiments with which the English and the Russians regard one another in the East."

A Dano-Russian expedition is now penetrating Kafiristan from the north or Badakhshan side, which will, no doubt, be affected by the Afghan invasion in that quarter. In Kafiristan, as in Armenia, Russia may eventually absorb what is left of their respective populations. In the meanwhile, we owe it to ourselves, and to the civilised world, not only to offer the surviving and fugitive Kafirs an asylum in Chitral or Kashmir, but to interfere, by a timely word of warning to the AMIR, to stop the slaughter of a race which, in spite of the bad name that certain officials seek to attach to it, is one of the best and bravest that I know. The missionary reports which we have of the Kafirs give a very different tale from the one that is now invented to justify their betrayal—a course which will only deepen the distrust of British professions that already affects our relations with France, Russia, Germany, and the United States.

Yours, etc.,
EXPLORER.

February 11.

THE STATE OF KAFIRISTAN.

The Secretary of the International Arbitration and Peace Association has received the following letter :—"India Office, Feb. 24, 1896. Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. inquiring whether 'the State of Kafiristan has been given over to its enemies the Afghans,' and whether Her Majesty's Government will 'take measures to protect the Kafir tribes.' In reply I am directed to state that in the delimitation of boundary which followed the conclusion of the Kabul Agreement of November 12th, 1893, the limit of the British sphere of influence was drawn so as to place Kafiristan on the Afghan side. The latest reports received from India are to the effect that military operations were practically ended on January 24th, and the Afghan troops withdrawn from the Kafir country.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, A. GODLEY."

Cardinal Manning: a Reminiscence.

By C. H. ALLEN.

IN perusing rather carefully the 1,500 closely-printed pages which contain an account of the life of the late CARDINAL MANNING, by Mr. EDMUND SHERIDAN PURCELL, I have as a Protestant, been far more deeply interested in the first volume, which contains the early career of the future Cardinal during the time that he remained in the English Church, principally as Archdeacon of Chichester and Rector of Lavington.

It must be said that the Editor appears to be extremely fair in his reproduction of letters, whether favourable or not to the high dignitary whose life he has so impartially given to the world. My reminiscences of the eminent Cardinal are of an Anti-Slavery nature, but they extend over a period of nearly ten years; and during that time he allowed me the privilege of unreserved intercourse, both in his private room and often at his mid-day meal. With a courtesy which one might naturally expect from a Christian gentleman, the Cardinal studiously avoided the slightest allusion to religious topics, knowing that from my Quaker origin we could not be expected to agree upon various points. When I informed the Cardinal that Gumley House, Isleworth, now a convent school of the *Sacré Cœur*, formerly belonged to my mother, and that I had passed some of the happiest years of my childhood there, he kindly gave me an order to see over the house whenever I wished.

In reading Mr. PURCELL's book, I felt somewhat disappointed at finding that the only allusion to the Anti-Slavery work of the Cardinal was a notice that he had attended, in 1884, the Jubilee Meeting of Emancipation in British Colonies, held in the Guildhall, under the presidency of H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES. An extract from the Cardinal's speech is given, but as this meeting was attended by Cabinet Ministers, the highest dignitaries of the English Church, and noted public men of all creeds and politics, the mere fact of his Eminence being present, and speaking, would not necessarily show that he was earnestly interested in the present work of the Society which had convened the meeting. In order to show the reality of CARDINAL MANNING's Anti-Slavery feeling, I append a few extracts from one of the last chapters in Mr. PURCELL's book, in which the Cardinal contrasts the efforts made by Roman Catholics with those of Protestants of all denominations, as regards the philanthropic work of the 19th century in England.

"HINDRANCES TO THE SPREAD OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND."
(From Purcell's "*Life of Cardinal Manning*," pages 772, 780, 781.)

Mr. PURCELL writes:—

The original heading put to this series of Autobiographical Notes was "Prospects of the Catholic Church in England in the Future," but CARDINAL MANNING had either no time or no inclination to carry out his original design. Instead of speculating on the unknown future, he wisely contented himself with describing things of which he had a personal knowledge, hindrances which he had himself encountered, to the spread of the Catholic Church in England.

In a series of Autobiographical Notes, written in the summer of 1890, CARDINAL MANNING entered into a most searching inquiry into the "hindrances" which stand in the way of the spread of Catholicism in England. In these notes the Cardinal relates, with admirable force and directness, the difficulties which he had to encounter, not so much from opposition on the part of the people of England, as from apathy, ignorance, and prejudice on the part of Catholics themselves. The results of CARDINAL MANNING's long experience are not only of personal interest but of great public utility. The candour and openness with which he does not fear to rebuke his own people, and the just and generous tribute which he offers from his own experience, both as a Catholic priest and an Anglican, to the piety, religious-mindedness, and exemplary lives of some Anglicans of every rank and condition of life, is a noble legacy which cannot fail to soften antipathies and lessen any lingering prejudices in the hearts of the people of England. CARDINAL MANNING writes :—

"My experience among those who are out of the Church confirms all I have written of the doctrines of grace. I have intimately known souls living by faith, hope, and charity, and the sanctifying grace with the seven gifts of the HOLY GHOST, in humility, absolute purity of life and heart, in constant meditation on Holy Scripture, unceasing prayer, complete self-denial, personal work among the poor, in a word, living lives of visible sanctification, as undoubtedly the work of the HOLY GHOST, as I have ever seen. I have seen this in whole families, rich and poor, and in all conditions of life.

"Moreover, I have received into the Church I do not know how many souls in whom I could find no mortal sin. They were evidently in the grace of their Baptism. This same is the testimony of priests whom I have consulted ; and it was the unanimous testimony of the Jesuits at Stonyhurst in 1848, as F. CARDELLA, I think, if I remember right, told me. How, with these facts, can men go on speaking of those who are out of the Church in England as in the state of nature and in bad faith, and to be avoided as immoral ? There are no doubt such persons among them. But what is the state of France, Italy, Spain, South America ? All the light and grace of the Catholic Church is in vain for multitudes in those Catholic nations.

"And further, all the great works of charity in England have had their beginning out of the Church, for instance, the abolition of the Slave-trade and of Slavery ; and the persevering protest of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Not a Catholic name, so far as I know, shared in this. France, Portugal and Brazil have been secretly or openly Slave-trading, or, till now even, Slave-holding. The whole temperance movement. It was a Quaker that made F. MATHEW a total abstainer. Catholic Ireland and the Catholics of England, until now, have done little for temperance. The Anglican and Dissenting ministers are far more numerously total abstainers than our priests. The Act of Parliament to protect animals from cruelty was carried by a non-Catholic Irishman. The Anti-Vivisection Act also. Both are derided to my knowledge among Catholics.

"The Acts to protect children from cruelty were the work of Dissenters. On these three societies there is hardly a Catholic name. On the last, mine was for long the only one. So again in the uprising against the horrible depravity which destroys young girls—multitudes of ours. I was literally denounced by Catholics, not one came forward. If it was ill done, why did nobody try to mend it ? I might go on. There are endless works for the protection of shop assistants, overworked railway and tram men, women and children ground down by sweaters, and driven by starvation wage upon the streets. Not one of the works in their behalf were started by us,

hardly a Catholic name is to be found in their reports. Surely we are in the sacristy. It is not that our Catholics deliberately refuse, but partly they do not take pains to know, partly they are prejudiced. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" partly they are suspicious, "Who knows it is not a proselytising affair?" and finally, they live on easily, unconscious that "Lazarus lies at their gate full of sores."—CARDINAL MANNING'S *Autobiographical Notes*, August, 1890.

HOW CARDINAL MANNING JOINED THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ON the 15th November, 1882, a public meeting of the Society was held in Willis's Rooms, under the presidency of the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY. CARDINAL MANNING having been invited, kindly seconded a resolution, in which he "congratulated the noble chairman in again presiding over an Anti-Slavery meeting, but contrasted the scanty attendance that day with the multitudes that used to throng Exeter Hall. He could not but feel sorry that the English people, which was once all aflame from sea to sea for the abolition of Slavery, should now be so apathetic that only a handful of persons in a small room could be found to carry on the conflict. It was much to be regretted, too, and it was a significant fact that the income of the Society should have greatly diminished."

Nor were these mere empty words. Before the meeting was quite over, I escorted the Cardinal down to his carriage, and pressing my hand warmly he said "I must help you."

This he did, firstly, by at once becoming an annual subscriber for a good amount; and, secondly, by accepting a seat upon the Committee of the Society in 1885. He occasionally attended the monthly meetings, and appeared to be specially pleased at belonging to a body representing, including himself, nearly all the principal religious denominations in England, all devoted to the great cause of human freedom. Nor was his assistance confined to Committee work; for besides speaking at the Jubilee Meeting in 1884, CARDINAL MANNING took an active part in helping the Society to organise a great meeting at Manchester, in November of the same year, at which Mr. H. M. STANLEY kindly and gratuitously delivered a most interesting address on the African Slave-trade.

At this meeting, held in the Free-Trade Hall, so full that an overflow meeting had to be held elsewhere, not only CARDINAL MANNING but his successor, CARDINAL VAUGHAN, spoke to resolutions. The latter Prelate became—by donation—a life member of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and is almost, if not quite, the only Roman Catholic member now on the Society's books.

In 1885, at a large meeting in the Mansion House, under the presidency of LORD MAYOR FOWLER, CARDINAL MANNING again assisted the work of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY by attending and delivering an eloquent speech.

CARDINAL MANNING AND CARDINAL LAVIGERIE.

ALTHOUGH Mr. PURCELL appears to have been ignorant of the fact that the eminent prelate, whose life he has just written, was one of those who assisted

in laying the foundation stone of the Brussels Anti-Slave-trade Conference, it is nevertheless the fact, and is worthy of record amongst CARDINAL MANNING's many good deeds.

It happened in this wise. In the summer of 1888 the late CARDINAL LAVIGERIE, a native of France long resident in Africa, and holding the title of Archbishop of Algiers and Carthage, commenced an active crusade against the Slave-trade by delivering orations in the principal churches of several of the great European capitals. I wrote to invite the French Cardinal to co-operate with the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in London in holding a public meeting, and the invitation was accepted. As the visit was limited to a very few days, Mr. EDMUND STURGE authorised me to solicit the aid of CARDINAL MANNING, in carrying out the necessary arrangements, and the latter entered heartily into the work. He at once decided that we must not be content with merely a sermon in a Roman Catholic church, but must organise a large public meeting, to be attended by representatives of the press, the only difficulty being that the eminent French orator was entirely ignorant of the English language. CARDINAL MANNING drove me to the hotel where the illustrious Crusader was staying, and for about an hour we three held a very interesting conversation, in which all points of the African Slave-trade were fully discussed, and the decision was arrived at to obtain the best available room for a public meeting on the following Tuesday. This gave only two clear days for carrying out the necessary arrangements, but Prince's Hall was immediately secured, and EARL GRANVILLE kindly consented to preside. A full account of the great meeting, on July 31st, 1888, may be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of that date, together with press notices, pp. 91-117.

After the long and eloquent oration delivered by CARDINAL LAVIGERIE, in French, EARL GRANVILLE was obliged to vacate the chair, which was then taken by Mr. EDMUND STURGE, and those present then witnessed an interesting and unprecedented scene, which was much commented on by the Press throughout the country. On the platform of a large public meeting, in the heart of the largest city in the world, the chair was filled by a veteran Quaker Abolitionist, and, on his right and left hand, were seated two eminent Cardinals of the Roman Church, one an Englishman and the other a Frenchman, whilst they were supported by Bishops, Canons, and Clergy of the Church of England, and a number of men distinguished in Parliament, in literature, and in travel. These earnest men, discarding all religious differences, had met together for one great purpose, viz. : to put an end to the horrible and destructive African Slave-trade.

CARDINAL MANNING proposed the first resolution, which concluded by urging the Governments of Europe to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon the rulers of all countries where Slavery exists ; whilst a second resolution, proposed by the Rev. HORACE WALLER, urged the Government, in concert with the Powers, to adopt such measures as should secure the extinction of the devastating Slave-trade, now carried on by the enemies of the human race.

An official copy was forwarded to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, and thus the way was cleared for the great debate upon this subject in the House of Commons, on the 26th March, 1889, which was opened by Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, "acting as spokesman of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

In this memorable debate no one spoke in opposition, and a resolution was unanimously passed, concluding with the words :—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to take steps to ascertain whether the Powers signatory are willing to meet in Conference, for the purpose of devising such measures for the repression of the Slave-trade, as may be at the same time effective and in accordance with justice, and under the regulations of International Law."

As everyone knows, the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference was convened some months afterwards, and held its first sitting on the 18th of the November following.

In looking back over the list of those who took an active part in the now historic meeting in Prince's Hall, we are sadly reminded of the gaps that have been made in that band of Abolitionists who stood together on that platform on the 31st July, 1889. Death has removed the two famous Cardinals, also LORD GRANVILLE, the African Bishop SMYTHIES, EDMUND STURGE, Mr. CHILDERS, M.P., Commander CAMERON, STAFFORD ALLEN, JAMES LONG, the Rev. HORACE WALLER, and probably others whose names were not reported. We, who remain, have still our work to do, and must not rest until it is accomplished, or until we, like those who are gone, are called upon to lay down our arms. The General Act of the Brussels Conference has been passed, and has received the signature of the seventeen Powers; but the Slave-trade still goes on with considerable activity, whilst Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, to our shame be it spoken, continues to exist, as it has now done for several years, under the protection of the British flag.

An exception has been taken to the publication of CARDINAL MANNING'S Autobiographical Notes, quoted above, respecting the greater zeal in philanthropic works shown by Protestants, as compared with their Roman Catholic brethren. I thought it only due to the memory of the great English Cardinal, to show how heartily he entered into the work of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, regardless of the religious differences that existed between himself and his fellow labourers.

Some years ago, when I introduced to CARDINAL MANNING the distinguished Brazilian abolitionist, SENHOR JOAQUIM NABUCO, the latter received from the Cardinal a letter of introduction to POPE LEO XIII., which was duly presented in Rome, and, I believe, assisted CARDINAL LAVIGERIE in obtaining from the Pope the issue of a *Bull In Plurimis* against Slavery.

CHAS. H. ALLEN.

Meetings.

PLYMOUTH.

ON the 14th January an important public meeting was held in St. Andrew's Hall, Plymouth, to assist in procuring the abolition of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba. The Mayor (Mr. J. T. BOND) presided, and amongst those present were :—Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, late Commissioner for the LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to Zanzibar and Pemba ; Mr. FRANCIS W. FOX (London), the Revs. J. WOOD, T. T. LAMBERT, C. S. SLATER, W. S. TOMLINSON, J. T. MAXWELL, J. C. RUDALL, Captain INSKIP, and Messrs. G. H. FOX (Falmouth), W. BRAY, J.P., F. E. FOX, J.P., J. P. BROWN, J.P., R. REYNOLDS FOX, H. O. SERPELL, G. R. BARRETT, J. BRUFORD, J. P. URAN, J. M. GROSE, E. ROSEVEARE, J.P., J. J. HAYDON, E. W. SERPELL, R. BISHOP, C. A. FOX, C. A. GOODBODY, J. TAYLOR, and A. P. BALKWILL.

The MAYOR, who was cordially received, said that if there was one inheritance to which this generation had succeeded, and which more than another they intended to maintain consistently, it was hatred to Slavery, which had called forth such energy and effort in the days that were passed. It was only necessary to arouse the English people upon any question to call forth that energy, effort, and determination which were the characteristics of the race. Whatever might be the real reason, it was very clear that they had had of late some rude reminders, which had called forth a spontaneous expression of energy, effort, and determination, that so far as in their judgment they were justified, they would maintain the character of their predecessors, who had done so much to build up the British empire. (Hear, hear.) Such a great power had its duties and responsibilities, and it appeared to him that of late years the one leading feature of the British people, which had excited the attention of foreign critics, was their vast accumulation of wealth. If that, however, were their only object, it would not be a very noble and lofty ideal. But because of their position they had other responsibilities. Because of their power there were moral claims upon them, and some of the brightest pages of English history were those which recorded deeds done by the English race in helping the down-trodden, relieving those who were oppressed, and giving freedom to the Slave. (Hear, hear.) Not only had English people put forth effort and evinced an abiding determination to accomplish those things, but a consistency had marked their efforts. The burning thought, however, at the present time was that under the British flag human beings were still held in Slavery. Such a thing ought not to be—(hear, hear)—and given full and correct knowledge upon that statement, that proof of it should be made to their satisfaction, he thought, in common with their fellows up and down the country, they would be determined that such things should no longer be. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE then addressed the assembly, describing his visit to Zanzibar and Pemba for the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and revealing the shocking condition of the Slaves in that Protectorate, for which, he contended, to a very great extent, the people of England were responsible. They had taken over Zanzibar, Pemba, and East Africa something like five years ago, making it what was known as a British Protectorate. If they had made it a British Colony Slavery could not exist there. But surely if England could put the SULTAN on the throne against the wishes of the Arab population it could also abolish Slavery in those countries. (Hear, hear.) The Government of Zanzibar was composed of Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, Mr. STRICKLAND, and, above them, the Consul-General, Mr. HARDINGE, whilst the SULTAN was merely a puppet in their hands. If they were to say

Slavery must be abolished in those countries the SULTAN would have to submit. It would not be for him to say no to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government. If the Home Government only understood the present state of affairs he did not think they would hesitate in granting freedom to these people. They had a great responsibility; above all, they had to set an example to other nations—(hear, hear)—and such flimsy excuses as those put forward ought not to prevent them from taking immediate action. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FRANCIS W. FOX said that it seemed strange that in the closing years of the nineteenth century they should be summoned together to protest against such a wrong and iniquity as the Slave-trade now being carried on under a British Protectorate, ruled by British officers, and controlled more or less by their own Foreign Office. Great Britain had had the protectorate of those two islands for upwards of five years, and for the last twenty or thirty years their Government had been paramount, appointing and selecting the various Sultans to the throne of Zanzibar. Yet during this time they had quietly permitted this great wrong to be carried on. Was it not high time for them to bestir themselves, and with no uncertain sound declare that Slavery should no longer be permitted in their dominions? (Hear, hear.) He hoped all would be inspired with a holy zeal and determination to wage a crusade against one of the greatest wrongs which hundreds and thousands of their fellow creatures were now groaning under. (Hear, hear.)

Captain INSKIP moved: "That having heard with profound surprise and regret that Slavery is still tolerated in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, under British protection, notwithstanding the engagements which have been made between Great Britain and the late SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and in face of our well-known traditional policy as an Anti-Slavery nation, this meeting appeals to Her Majesty's Government to adopt such immediate measures as will speedily enforce the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade in East African territories which are under British protection." If they could only open up the interior of Africa without taking in their fire water, what a magnificent place they would have for commercial purposes. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. E. FOX, in seconding, said the condition of the Slave, bad though it might be, was not so bad as that of the millions who year by year were brought from the interior of Africa only to die by the wayside. By legitimate agitation they could undoubtedly achieve their object. Zanzibar and Pemba would then follow in the wake of the West Indies and the United States, and no Slave would breathe within those islands. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. T. MAXWELL moved: "That copies of the foregoing resolution be signed by the chairman of the meeting and forwarded to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, Her Majesty's Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs; and also to the Right Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, and to the Members of Parliament representing this town." They could not, he said, move in advance of public opinion, and it was only when public opinion at home was ripe that those in distant parts would operate. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. P. BROWN, J.P., seconded. They were professedly a Christian nation, and, as such, they should act, demonstrating that their character was beyond reproach. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. T. T. LAMBERT, in supporting, said he regarded the term Slavery as being hateful to every true Englishman. (Hear, hear.) He looked upon Slavery as execrable and the sum of all villainy, cursed at both ends and blasted in the middle by the frown of Jehovah, and he regarded that statement as temperate. He could

not read of the Slavery of God's people in Egypt without his soul swelling with indignation. He was old enough to remember the protracted struggle put forth by America to shake off that which had been its curse. They never lost hope that the cause of humanity, justice, righteousness, and of God would triumph as it did right gloriously. (Hear, hear.) If only the people of this country were fully instructed as to what was going on in British protectorates in Africa, they would arise as one man and tell the Government that such things must be brought to an end, and that the British flag must not be trailed in the dust. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the time would soon come when that word should be said and that act brought about. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution having been carried, Alderman BRAY briefly proposed a vote of thanks to the MAYOR for presiding, and also to the deputations.

Mr. G. H. FOX seconded, and on being put to the vote the resolution was carried unanimously, his WORSHIP and Mr. MACKENZIE briefly responding.

NOTTINGHAM.

ON the 21st January, 1896, a meeting was held in the Mechanics' Large Hall for the purpose of protesting against Slavery under the British flag. The meeting, which was convened under the auspices of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, was under the presidency of Ald. THOMAS BAYLEY, M.P., and on the platform there were also Mrs. BAYLEY, Dr. BAGSHAW (Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham), Canon DOUGLASS, D.D., the Rev. HORACE WALLER, F.R.G.S., Prof. T. WITTON DAVIES (Baptist College), the Rev. G. R. CAIRNS (Chicago), the Rev. T. F. J. RAYNER (Zambesi Mission), the Rev. J. CALVERT (Addison Street Congregational Church), Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE (Special Commissioner of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to Zanzibar), the Rev. G. HOWARD JAMES (Woodborough Road Baptist, and representing the Nottingham Free Church Council), Mr. TEALL (Assistant Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY), and Mr. G. K. HIBBERT, B.A.

Letters of apology for their absence from several ministers and persons of influence were read.

The Chairman said the subject that they had met to discuss was one which towards the end of the 19th century no meeting ought to have been held to consider, that with reference to Slavery—domestic and plantation Slavery—of the negro race. They had on the platform gentlemen of all religious views and political opinions. (Applause.) They took over some years ago, and had the protectorate of the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, which were the black spots of the Slave-trade in Africa. In taking over these islands they could have had no other object but the suppression of the Slave-trade. In 1873 there was a decree published for the abolition of Slavery, and shortly after England took possession, a decree was issued professedly abolishing Slavery. A few days after that decree there was published in the two islands a further decree with the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR's name at the bottom which practically annulled the first. The question was ventilated in the House of Commons at the beginning of last year on a vote of Supply for a few hundred pounds. The Government was attacked with reference to what was taking place in the two islands. Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, the Leader of the House of Commons at that time, said that Slavery had to be abolished, but then was not the time. He (Mr. BAYLEY) got up almost immediately after Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said that, and told him that he was not satisfied with that. The division which took place showed that it was not a party question. The result of that discussion in the House of Commons was that the Government

promised to have a report from Mr. HARDINGE, the Consul-General in Zanzibar. They received a report from Mr. HARDINGE with regard to the advisability or otherwise of the abolition of the legal status of Slavery in that country. The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY also decided to send a gentleman out to report for them. They sent Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, who was present, and he was not going to say anything with reference to his report, but he was going to say a little on that signed by Mr. HARDINGE. He was bound to think that Englishmen when they were out there lost their knowledge of what was taking place in this country, and the feeling of English men and women in regard to Slavery. One of the reasons—and he (the Chairman) thought he (Mr. HARDINGE) gave it as his principal reason—why he was in favour of continuing the Slavery in those two islands was that if it were abolished it would increase—he was speaking from memory—to the extent of about 5 per cent. the loading charges and the unloading charges of steamships that went into the port of Zanzibar, and that English merchants would have to pay that increased cost of loading and unloading. Well, it was a labour question then. That was clear, but they would not allow it without their saying on public platforms in this country that they were not in favour of Slavery just because it was for the benefit of steamship owners and traders in this country. (Applause.) Now, he had had a good deal of amusement, and serious amusement, with regard to officials, or rather the law officers, of the Crown, with regard to this question. He had found out what had been forgotten for a long time, that it was absolutely illegal for any British subjects, whether they were merchants, or whatever part of the country they were in, to own Slaves, deal in Slaves, or get a profit out of Slaves in any conceivable way. (Applause.) The law was very strong with regard to that, and he thought it was passed in 1834. It was very strong indeed. The point he argued was this, that that law was sufficiently wide in its interpretation that no British subject had a right to administer in any country the law that acknowledged Slavery. And he hoped the case would be tried when the time came, to find out whether any of Her Majesty's servants were allowed to be so, and at the same time to administer the law which acknowledges the legal status of Slavery. The responsibility was not in the hands of the Arabs of whom they heard so much. The responsibility of Slavery in Africa was, to-day, not in the hands of the Arabs, not in the hands of Mr. HARDINGE, not in the hands of Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, the Prime Minister of Zanzibar. The responsibility was in the hands of themselves in this country. It was in the hands of the Christian churches of all denominations in this country. It was for them to say whether the existing state of things was to continue or not, and as they decided so it would be. The whole question, in his opinion, only wanted the Christian churches and Christian ministers to be something like united on that great question and the thing would be stopped, and stopped very quickly indeed.

Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, who was cordially received, said that there were two reasons why he should appear there that evening. The first was that he had been connected with Africa for nearly twenty years, and the second was that he was Special Commissioner for the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to Zanzibar, Pemba, and East Africa, and it was of that commission he proposed to speak. He proceeded to refer to treaties which had been made for a great number of years between England and the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and he might say the Society of Friends, were rather doubtful as to how those treaties were carried out. He thought they had very good reason for their doubts, and it was to put to rest those doubts that he went out in their name.

When he arrived at Zanzibar he called on the Consul-General, Mr. HARDINGE, who informed him—and others confirmed him—that those treaties, which were made with such formality, and by such able diplomatists as Sir JOHN KIRK and Sir EWEN SMITH, were simply dead letters, for they had never been acted upon. He also wished to know, when he arrived, how many Slaves were in these two islands, and Mr. HARDINGE gave him two estimates. One was an estimate made by the late SULTAN, and estimated the number at 266,000 on the two islands, and the estimate of the present Prime Minister of the Zanzibar Government was 140,000. He adopted the former as being nearest the truth. The late SULTAN knew the number of his own people better than anybody else. The speaker proceeded to explain what the employment of Slaves was in the islands. The great bulk of them were used for cultivating plantations, and the greater number of those plantations were in the Island of Pemba. There were clove plantations, which formed a very considerable portion of revenue to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, amounting to £35,000 a year. Another branch of employment was domestic service. A European, for instance, going to Zanzibar, if he wanted a servant, must employ a Slave, who gave half his pay back to his master, having 5s. 6d. a month to clothe and feed himself. Another branch of employment was porters in the town. These carried goods from warehouses and discharged and loaded vessels in the harbour, and a very large number of women were employed in this work. He found a very large number loading Her Majesty's ships with coal. Another branch of Slavery was portage connecting communication between the seaboard and the far interior. This was one of the most horrible of all the work of the Slaves. The load was given to him as 70 lbs., and then there was added to that the food and cooking utensils, which brought up the load to perhaps 100 lbs. A Slave had to march with this twelve miles a day under a burning sun. If any of these porters fell by the way they were left to die or to be devoured by wild animals, and the mortality was very great, especially among porters in private caravans. Who was responsible for this state of things? He was ashamed to say England was, in a measure, responsible. Nothing had been done to abolish Slavery in those two islands. There were 266,000 Slaves there, and no measure had been taken to free them. ("Shame.")

The Rev. HORACE WALLER proposed "That, whereas it is computed that a quarter of a million of Slaves are at the present time engaged in working upon the plantations, or as porters, etc., in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, having first been enslaved in Central Africa, under circumstances of the greatest barbarity—and nearly all of them taken to Zanzibar and Pemba illegally, in contravention of the SULTAN's decree of 1873, abolishing the Slave-trade—this meeting would emphatically urge Her Majesty's Government to abolish the status of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba without further delay, inasmuch as the continuance of a state of Slavery necessarily leads to a corresponding activity in the Slave-trade." The speaker remarked that in the year 1864 he was in the vicinity of Nottingham assembled beneath the roof of Newstead Abbey with DAVID LIVINGSTONE, Sir JOHN KIRK, and members of the family of Dr. LIVINGSTONE, in consultation. They had arrived from Africa very recently, and Dr. LIVINGSTONE felt that the first charge on his honour as a British subject and as a man living in the nineteenth century, was to lay before his countrymen the barbarities occasioned by the Slave-trade in Central Africa. (Applause.) They had spent some years together in the vicinity of Lake Nyanza, and all that they had heard of the Slave-trade in former years was a mere trifle to the barbarities that came under their notice. He had seen boys sold for as much corn as could go into his hat, and women

and children chained together in a way that no humane man would dare to chain dogs or cats in this country, and marched here and there and sold as common merchandise. After dwelling upon the efforts of LIVINGSTONE towards the suppression of the Slave-trade, the speaker asked whether they had gone back, or had they advanced? He said he was sorry to say that it was a terrible retrograde movement. They exchanged Heligoland with Germany for Zanzibar and Pemba, and if there were only 500 Slaves there they must feel it a slur upon their national character; but, instead of there being 500 there were 200,000. They had to pay £80,000 a year for some of Her Majesty's ships to prowl around these two islands keeping up the pretence of putting down the Slave-trade. Their object was to anticipate the Slavers, and to stop them conveying Slaves from the mainland into these two islands. Let them suppose that a dhow was not captured. The Slaves were then landed and absorbed into the great Slave-trade, and the English vessels, when their coals were exhausted, went in for a fresh cargo, and the Slaves put the cargo on board. Could there be a more ludicrous or abominable fact than this? (Hear, hear.) There was considerable ignorance with reference to the question in the country. It was a subject which touched their honour in a most extraordinary manner. (Applause.) He would remind them that it was not for pure adventure that they scrambled for Africa. He looked upon it as the most extraordinary phenomenon possible. He remembered when he came from Africa the crass ignorance which existed concerning the interior. But his life had been spared to see European nations jealous about this vast country. It was not the Almighty's intention at the end of the nineteenth century that the great proportion of the world's population should labour still under cruelties which disgraced previous centuries. In spite of themselves they were compelled to have to do with Africa, and, when they saw that African matters could arouse such great dangers as those which had arisen within the last few weeks, it behoved them to remove as far as they could all that pressed on their consciences as free men and women. (Applause.)

The BISHOP, who was received with applause, said there were few subjects, if any, which touched the hearts of English people more than the question of the abolition of Slavery. There was nothing which was more terrible for body and soul both than a condition of Slavery, especially as that condition had been found in most parts of the world. Outside Christianity it was the tendency. The great bulk of the Roman people were Slaves, and might be put to death or compelled to bear infamous suffering at their masters' pleasure, and therefore both soul and body were given over to the cruelty of those who possessed them. It was the glory of the Christian Church to have put an end to Slavery throughout all Europe, gradually and wisely insisting upon the personal and family rights of Slaves, and facilitating in every possible way and encouraging their liberation. The Catholic Church had founded religious orders for the purpose of ransoming Slaves, many of them going into Slavery themselves—the monks—in order to promote the liberation of those who were in that miserable condition. And, indeed, the great work was being done still. (Applause.) He would not go into details of the work which was being done for the liberation of Slaves in Africa. Every Catholic Church in the world made a collection once a year for that purpose. He would say that the first condition of Slavery was the most distressing of all conditions, for it involved a multitude of crimes against every one of God's Commandments. The Slave-trade had been always condemned as a horrible thing by the Catholic Church. (Applause.) It involved robbery and every crime against manhood; and it involved murder on a large scale. Fancy 80 per cent. of those who were stolen from their country and their friends being murdered on the

way ; whether their brains were dashed out because they could not go on, or left to be the food of wild beasts—one or the other, it was murder, and all who carried on the Slave-trade were guilty of their murder. (Applause.) A tremendous sacrifice of life was required in order to import Slaves. Who was guilty of the crime of all these murders and taking the people from their homes? Was it any other but the British Government? In the first place they heard that it was the British merchants of India who were actually the owners of these Slaves, who had mortgages and interest on this property, and insisted upon those Slaves being kept there. The Government that allowed the use of these Slaves for loading and unloading its vessels and keeping them in Slavery was guilty of those murders, horrors, scourges, and cruelties that were practised upon them. Those who carried on the Slave-trade and permitted it were guilty of these things, because without that condition and status of Slavery there would be no Slavery. Whigs and Tories alike, if they could go on with such iniquity, it was enough to take one's breath away, and he could only say that the Catholic Church would protest with all its might and main against the continuance of such crimes. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. G. H. JAMES, who was cheered at the outset, said that it was with peculiar pleasure that he rose to propose a resolution, as follows :—"That this meeting, whilst desiring to record its sense of the wisdom and consistency which led the Government in time past to abolish the status of Slavery in India, on the Gold Coast of Africa, in Cyprus, and elsewhere, whereby freedom was ensured to all natives of those countries under British protection, would hereby express its deep regret that the break in the continuity of the national moral policy should still be allowed to exist with regard to the Slaves now held in bondage in the British protectorate of Zanzibar." He proposed the resolution not as an individual, but as a representative of the Nottingham Free Church Council, and so was the spokesman not only of the Baptists, but of Congregationalists, of Presbyterians, of Methodists, and other Non-conformists of this ancient borough. About 120 years ago, a decision was given by the Lord Chief Justice of England, a decision which endorsed the contention that as soon as any Slave set foot on English ground he became free. Another generation passed by, and then a further step in advance was taken, and the Slave-trade, as far as Englishmen were concerned, was abolished. Yet another generation passed by, and a further step forward was taken, though the leadership of the movement had fallen into other hands. The earlier champions of the Slave had laid down their weapons, but their work was taken up by men like BUXTON. Slaves in the West Indies were set free. Our policy had been clear and definite. Wherever the Union Jack went, freedom should go with it ; and what they wanted to know was, why the Protectorate of Zanzibar was to be an exception to that rule? (Applause.) They were not asking for any new thing, for any new departure, but they were challenging an exception to the policy of this Empire. They had it on the best authority that in those islands there were a quarter of a million Slaves ; but he said that if there were only fifty the question would be the same for them. (Applause.) Their national honour could never be a small matter. The reputation of their country could never be a trifle.

Mr. TEALL seconded the proposition, remarking that the Slave-trade was a crime against morality, religion, and Christianity. (Hear, hear.) They must appeal to meetings like that for support. It was no use appealing to the Government alone. (Hear, hear.)

The proposition was carried.

The Rev. J. CALVERT proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers,

and said they were greatly indebted to Mr. BAYLEY for the interest he had taken in the subject, and for having convened the meeting.

Professor DAVIES seconded the motion, remarking that their thanks were especially due to the chairman for calling the meeting, and he believed he had borne the entire expense of it. (Applause.)

The proposition was carried.

The Chairman, in reply, mentioned that it was proposed to send the resolutions to the Prime Minister. They were not going to allow the question to be a silent one in the House of Commons. (Applause.)

Slave Porters in British East Africa.

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

January 23rd, 1896.

The following correspondence has taken place between the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and the Foreign Office :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., ETC.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—On behalf of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY I have the honour to enclose for the information of your Lordship, a copy of the Church Missionary Society's *Intelligencer* for January, 1896, and to call your Lordship's attention to the passages marked on pages 19, 21, 22, 23, 24.*

On Bishop TUCKER's authority it is shown that the cruelties which this Society has more than once brought under the notice of the Foreign Office, are still perpetrated, and in caravans organised on behalf of the British Government.

The porters mentioned are, for the most part, Slaves who have been illegally imported into the British Protectorate, and subsequently hired by the Arabs.

It becomes again the duty of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to urge that such conduct as detailed in Bishop TUCKER's narrative be strictly investigated, and also to recall to your Lordship the opinion so frequently expressed by the Society that, so long as Slavery exists in Her Majesty's Protectorate of Zanzibar, these and similar abuses cannot fail to be repeated to the disgrace of the national flag.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

* The passages in Bishop TUCKER's journal will be found in the *Reporter* for December, pages 224-226.—EDITOR.

REPLY.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

January 31st, 1896.

SIR,—I am directed by the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant, enclosing a copy of the Church Missionary Society's *Intelligencer* for the current month, and calling his Lordship's attention to certain extracts from letters from Bishop TUCKER relating to the condition of porters in caravans employed in transporting Government stores between the East African Coast and Uganda.

I am to state in reply that the attention of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Zanzibar will be called to the correspondence; I am, however, to add that he is paying great attention to the question of transport, and has recently prepared new rules for the regulation of caravans fitted out at the coast.

The question of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba is receiving from Her Majesty's Government the careful consideration which its importance deserves.

I am, SIR, your most obedient humble servant,

H. PERCY ANDERSON.

THE SECRETARY TO
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, New Broad Street, E.C.

Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba.

THE report of Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, the Special Commissioner of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, of the cruelty of many of the Slave owners in Zanzibar, and especially in the isolated island of Pemba, was in no way exaggerated. By permission of the *Times*, we are able to publish a telegram from their correspondent as follows:—

ZANZIBAR, *February 29th.*

ALI BIN ABDULLAH, an influential Pemba Arab, has been sentenced by the Judge of the British Court to seven years' imprisonment, a fine of 5,000 rupees, and subsequent deportation for gross cruelty to his Slaves. The Arabs and Suahelis of Zanzibar and Pemba generally are glad, as his tyrannical power and barbarity were a terror to all.—*Our Correspondent.*

Surely this ought to be sufficient to induce our Government to order the abolition of Slavery in our East African Protectorate. Still further to show what is going on in that quarter, we reprint from *Central Africa* extracts from a letter of our old correspondent, ARCHDEACON FARLER, which show what Arab cruelty really is, and the annexed photograph, kindly supplied to us by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, will enable our readers to judge how the Slaves are treated in the streets of Zanzibar in the ordinary way without its being deemed "cruelty."

The Rev. J. P. FARLER, writing on July 4th, tells us :—

"We have had five children freed by the Sultan this week. They had been ill or had ulcers, and had been 'tupa'd'—cast out into the streets—by their owners. They were found and brought by different people to the hospital, and when they were cured—several after five months—the owners calmly came to the hospital and claimed them. As they had lost all moral claim to them by casting them adrift when they were ill, we refused, and carried the matter to the Sultan, who promptly gave them their freedom.



SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

This boy was recently rescued by Mr. Firminger. The log which he carries weighs 32 lbs.

"One was a peculiarly atrocious case. A dear little girl named JAMILI, a Somali, had been beaten by her mistress and then tied by the arm to a tree. The arm swelled so that the cord could not be got off, so they took a hatchet and cut off her arm, and then turned her out into the street to die, a little girl of seven only. Sir LLOYD MATHEWS found her, and sent her to the hospital, and she arrived with the jagged bleeding stump of the arm in a frightful state. An operation had to be performed, and now she is well again, a bright, merry, pretty little thing. Yesterday she was discharged from the hospital, and sent to the girls' school at Mbweni.

"Another was a little boy of twelve, whose arm had been broken by a camel, and then he was cast adrift by his master. He also was brought by the Government Engineer to the hospital. Others were found lying in the street in an awful condition, by Mr. TYRWHITT, then priest in charge; while one boy, because his foot was so fearfully ulcerated that he could not use it, crawled a long way to the hospital and was taken in. So soon as he was well his mistress tried to capture him, but the police rescued him, and the SULTAN has given him letters of freedom. TIPU TIB's daughter-in-law was the mistress of this boy, MABRUKI.

"It is this ownership in human beings that renders people so callous to suffering, and so absolutely without a sense of duty. The Government is determined to show the Slave-owners that if they have the privilege of owning other human beings they have also duties towards them, which will be enforced. General Sir LLOYD MATHEWS and our Consul-General use their influence with the SULTAN to free every Slave 'tupa'd,' which is the common custom of the Slave-owners, and then, if by a miracle the Slave recovers, the poor wretch is at once seized by his or her owner. If he dies, 'Bass, haithuru' (Never mind, it's of no consequence)."

Parliamentary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February 13th.*

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE (Northumberland, Tyneside).—I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what steps have during the Recess been taken by Her Majesty's Government, or are about to be taken to secure the abolition of the status of Slavery or the emancipation of Slaves on the two British protected islands of Zanzibar and Pemba?

Mr. CURZON.—I hope shortly to be in a position to make a full statement on the subject.

DURAND AGREEMENT—KAFIR COUNTRY.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devon, Honiton).—I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India (1) whether Her Majesty's Government has received confirmation of a statement made in several Indian newspapers, to the effect that, according to an announcement by the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, military operations will be resumed by the Afghans against the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush in the first week of March; (2) whether the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafir race was contemplated as a possible contingency when the transfer to Afghanistan of the whole of the Kafir country up to Chitral was made under the DURAND Agreement, as stated in the recently published Chitral Blue Book; and if so, what steps are being taken to save the people from such a fate; and (3) whether the text of the DURAND Agreement or Treaty will be laid before the House of Commons?

The SECRETARY OF STATE for India (LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing).—(1) Her Majesty's Government has received no confirmation of the report that military operations will be resumed against the Kafirs in March. The latest report is that operations were practically ended on January 24th, troops withdrawn, and most hostages released. (2) The main object of the DURAND Agreement—the text of which I shall be glad to lay on the Table of the House—was to fix the limits of the respective spheres of influence of the two Governments, and thus put an end

to the difficulties arising from the want of such a delimitation. According to the latest reports received from the Government of India, no question of "the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafir race" has arisen; and certainly no such contingency was contemplated at the time the arrangement was arrived at.

STEAMER FOR LAKE VICTORIA.

Mr. THOMAS BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield).—I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government has received any information respecting the Government caravan carrying up pieces of the steamer *William Makinnon*, which started from the coast with 400 porters, of whom only 150 returned, as reported by BISHOP TUCKER; if so, how many of these porters were Slaves; what was the weight of load actually carried per man; and what was the estimated number of deaths, desertions, and loss of loads?

Mr. CURZON.—The steamer for Lake Victoria is being conveyed to the lake, not by Government carriers, but by contract with Messrs. SMITH, MACKENZIE, of Zanzibar. We do not know how many of the porters have returned, nor how many deaths or desertions there have been in the caravan. All porters are voluntarily engaged for a fixed wage, and no question is raised as to whether they are Slaves or freemen. The usual weight of load per man is 65 lbs. It has been reported that some loads are missing, but it is thought that they may still be found on the way.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February 17th.*

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

Captain BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness) asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if any and what steps were being taken to abolish Slavery in the British protected islands of Zanzibar and Pema.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) also asked a question on the same subject.

Mr. CURZON.—As I stated, in answer to a question on the 13th inst., I hope shortly to be in a position to make a full statement on the subject.

Mr. DALZIEL asked whether the right hon. gentlemen could give the House the date when he would make the statement.

Mr. CURZON.—I have said I hope to do it on an early date, but I cannot pledge myself at this moment to name the exact period.

Mr. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield) asked the right hon. gentleman if he would make the statement before Easter.

Mr. CURZON.—Yes, I hope to be in a position to make the statement before Easter.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *21st February.*

KAFIRISTAN.

In reply to Sir E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT,

LORD G. HAMILTON said: According to the latest information received from the Government of India, the Kafirs were being disarmed and the property of those who had fled was being confiscated, but both the persons and property of those who remained were safe. No repressive measures are reported. About 150 Kafirs have sought refuge in Chitral. The Afghan troops, under the SIPAH SALAR, have withdrawn, and military operations are reported to be practically terminated. The Government of India have desired that telegraphic reports be sent to them from Chitral of any further operations. It would not be possible to make arrangements by which a British officer should accompany any subsequent Afghan expedition.

Review.

"FIRE AND SWORD IN THE SUDAN,"*

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF FIGHTING AND SERVING THE DERVISHES,
1879—1895,

BY

RUDOLF C. SLATIN-PASHA, C.B.,

TRANSLATED BY

MAJOR F. R. WINGATE, C.B., D.S.O., R.A.

THIS most interesting and instructive book has been eagerly looked for, ever since SLATIN PASHA visited London last summer, in company with MAJOR WINGATE, his most persevering and undaunted deliverer from the remorseless grip of the iron-fisted KHALIFA, in whose hands he remained a close prisoner, often in chains, for about 15 years.

This account of his captivity is dedicated, by permission, and in a few graceful lines, to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India, and contains an introductory note from the good Father DON JOSEPH OHRWALDER, SLATIN's former companion in captivity in the Sudan.

The narrative of OHRWALDER's escape has already been given to the public, through the instrumentality of the same translator, MAJOR WINGATE, and was reviewed in the *Reporter* in 1893. In the Spring of that year, through the kindness of Mr. WILSON, the *Times* correspondent in Cairo, we had the pleasure of an introduction to Father OHRWALDER, and accompanied him on a tour of inspection of the large Austrian Mission Estate on the other side the Nile, where large numbers of escaped Sudan Slaves were located. Last summer we had the pleasure of seeing SLATIN PASHA in London, and heard from his own lips the shocking story of his being tauntingly shown, when in chains, the head of his beloved friend, GENERAL GORDON. This will be found graphically narrated in the book now under review, and would be too shocking to recall here, except that it is the only authentic evidence we have that GORDON was actually slain at Khartoum. SLATIN's book is painful reading, as it emphasises the fact that, owing to circumstances which all must deplore, the British rescuers arrived just too late to save the fated city, and the heroic man who refused to desert his charge, whilst yet there was time.

Chapter X. in the volume is a very distressing one, as it gives the history of the Khartoum defence, and the hopes and fears of the besieged from the point of view of one who, from his prison walls and heavy chains, watched eagerly for the approach of the British army, but who had to watch in vain. This is perhaps the chapter that will be most eagerly read by many who may not find time to study the history of Darfur, under the Governorship of SLATIN PASHA, nor even to go once more over the terrible account of the

* EDWARD ARNOLD. London and New York, 1896.

HICKS PASHA expedition, when all, with the exception of two or three prisoners, were slain.

We regret that space permits us only to quote a few passages from this deeply interesting and voluminous work.

KAPSUN (*A Rescued Slave*).

The PRINCE OF WALES may remember the little black boy whom we had the honour of presenting to His Royal Highness, when he presided over the Jubilee Meeting of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at the Guildhall of the City of London, on August 1st, 1884. That little boy had been rescued from a Slave caravan, and was the servant of SLATIN PASHA, who handed him over to Dr. FELKIN to bring to England.

The account of this transaction, which will be found below, in an extract from "Fire and Sword in the Sudan," will be read with interest. KAPSUN was sent to school by Dr. FELKIN, and became a Christian, and when he was some years old he was forwarded to Cairo for instruction in the American Mission School there, with a view to his becoming a Missionary in the dark Sudan, when that afflicted country should be once more freed from the cruel tyranny of the KHALIFA. But this was not to be, for the colder climate of Egypt did not suit the constitution of the young Sudanese, and in the Autumn of 1890, he entered into that higher plane of existence for which he seemed so well prepared. His obituary notice has been given in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for November, 1890.

SLATIN PASHA thus writes respecting his visitors from Uganda :—

Three days after my return to Dara (1879) I received a letter from GESSI PASHA, in Bahr-el-Ghazal, informing me that Dr. R. W. FELKIN and the Rev. C. T. WILSON, of the English Church Missionary Society, were on their way from Uganda to Khartum, *via* Dara, and with them were some Waganda envoys, sent by KING MTESA to Her Majesty the QUEEN OF ENGLAND. GESSI begged me to give them all help on their journey, and said that they were leaving for Dara on the date he was writing. I calculated, therefore, they would arrive in a few days, so I despatched mounted messengers to the Mamur and Sheikh of Kalaka, directing him to have the necessary food and provisions ready for them on their arrival, and to send them with a strong escort to Dara. It was not until fourteen days after the receipt of GESSI's letter that news reached me they had passed Kalaka, and were not far from Dara. At the head of about forty horsemen, I started off to welcome them, and met them, after a ride of two hours, in a small wood. Our meeting took place under a large tree, and the two travellers seemed to me to be very tired after their long journey. I had brought some breakfast with me, and, laying our rugs on the ground, we sat down and had a good meal. They had heard in the southern Kalaka district that I had gone off to fight SULTAN HARUN, and, as the roads were considered unsafe, they had not ventured to come on, and that was the cause of the delay. Dr. FELKIN, who had studied in Jena, spoke German well, but I had great difficulty in making myself intelligible in my broken English to the Rev. Mr. WILSON. After breakfast we rode on to Dara, where the garrison had turned out to welcome them. I then led them to the house prepared for their reception, where ZOGAL, the Commandant, the Kadi, and

chief merchant came to pay their respects, and, after the usual lemonade and talk, I told them that my guests were greatly in need of rest, on which they withdrew.

KING MTESA'S ENVOYS.

Having ascertained, through an interpreter, that MTESA's envoys were fond of meat, I gave them a fattened ox, which they killed themselves, skinned, and then roasted on a wood fire, and, with several draughts of marissa, to which beverage they had been introduced by an old *habitué*, they appeared to have had a thoroughly enjoyable feast. Indeed, so much did they relish this native drink that I was obliged to commission ZOGAL BEY to supply them daily with a considerable quantity.

Meanwhile, our dinner party consisted of the two travellers, ZOGAL, and RIFKI, and, as usual, we dined off roasted mutton; after dinner I gave our two native friends a hint to retire, and then Dr. FELKIN and the Rev. Mr. WILSON began to relate their experiences in Uganda, as well as amongst the various tribes through which they had passed. I was immensely interested in all they told me, and could not help wishing I were at the great lakes, instead of in Darfur. Outside, the singing and beating of drums was getting louder and more boisterous, and from curiosity we went out to look on. The company was a very cheerful one—men and women shouting and dancing round a big fire, on which huge pieces of meat were roasting, whilst close by stood the half-empty pitchers of beer.

We remained till late talking over our travels, and the future of these countries. All they told me was of immense interest, and I, too, was able to give them the latest information from Europe, which, though months old, was news to them. At length towards midnight we turned in, having come to the mutual conclusion that in the Sudan, as well as in Europe, matters seemed very unsettled.

FIRST SIGHT OF A CAMEL.

Next morning we were up early, and had a two hours' ride, in which I showed my guests the surroundings of Dara, which were far from interesting; and on our return was told, much to my amusement, that the sight of a camel had caused MTESA's envoys such alarm that they had fled. "Well," said I to Dr. FELKIN, "as you have to make the rest of your journey on camel-back, it is advisable your men should get into the way of it; so if you will get them together, I will send for a camel and put their courage to the test." He went off, and I sent for a camel belonging to one of the merchants, which was very big and fat. By this time the envoys and others had arrived, and the camel appearing suddenly round a corner, caused almost a stampede. It was only the sight of the unconcern of Dr. FELKIN and myself which kept them from bolting as hard as their legs could carry them. Dr. FELKIN explained to them that the camel was a most patient and docile animal, on which they would have to make the remainder of their journey to Egypt, and that there was no cause for fear; still, they kept a respectful distance from the alarming beast, and when I told my kavass to mount, and make it get up and sit down, their astonishment was boundless. At length one, more courageous than the rest, volunteered to mount. Timorously approaching the animal, he was assisted into the saddle, and, having safely got through the operation of rising, with a beaming countenance he surveyed his friends from his lofty seat, and proceeded to make a speech to them on the pleasures of camel riding. Apparently he had invited them to share these pleasures with him, for suddenly, without a moment's warning, they rushed at the poor animal in a body, and began swarming up it. Some tried to mount by the neck, others by the tail, and half-a-dozen or so clung to the saddle-trappings. For a moment the camel seemed stupefied

by this sudden attack ; but, recovering its presence of mind, it now lashed out in all directions, and in a moment had freed itself completely from every unfortunate Waganda who had been bold enough to approach it. I do not think I ever laughed so much in my life. These people evidently took the poor animal for a mountain ; but the shocks they experienced when the mountain began to heave so terrified them that for long they would not come near it. However, first one and then another summoned up courage to mount, and by the time they left Dara they were all fairly proficient in the art of camel riding.

I had in my household several young boys who had been taken from the Slave-traders ; and as Dr. FELKIN had no servant to attend on him personally, I suggested he should take one of them. He accepted the offer gladly, so I handed over to him a bright little Fertit boy, called KAPSUN, whom he agreed to bring up in Europe. Two years and a half later I received at El Fasher a letter written in English by little KAPSUN, thanking me for allowing him to go with Dr. FELKIN "to a country where everyone was so good and so kind," and saying that he had adopted the Christian religion, and was "the happiest boy in the world" ; he also sent me his photograph in European clothes.

The time for the departure of my two friends came all too soon for me ; but they were anxious to get on, and, mounted on their camels, they left for Khartum *via* Toweisha.

Our next extract must be respecting Slavery and the Slave-trade in the Sudan, under the iron rule of the KHALIFA. Several of these sad facts were related to us last summer by SLATIN PASHA, and a short notice of the conversation appeared in the *Times*. What a terrible picture is here revealed to us by an eye-witness !

SLAVERY AND SLAVE-TRADE IN THE SUDAN.

BUT if trade in general is in a state of depression, there is one trade to which the advent of the MAHDI and KHALIFA has given a great impulse. I refer, of course, to the Slave-trade. As, however, the export of Slaves to Egypt is strictly prohibited, this trade is confined entirely to the provinces under the KHALIFA's control. In prohibiting the export of Slaves, the KHALIFA acts on the wise principle that he should not increase the power of his adversaries at his own expense. It is, of course, quite impossible for him to absolutely prevent Slaves being taken occasionally to Egypt or Arabia ; but the Slave-caravans which were formerly sent from the Sudan have now almost completely stopped. A few years ago quantities of Slaves were sent from Abyssinia by ABU ANGA, and from Fashoda by ZEKI TUMMAL, as well as from Darfur and the Nuba mountains by OSMAN WAD ADAM, and were generally sold by public auction for the benefit of the Beit el Mal, or the KHALIFA's private treasury. The transport of Slaves is carried on with the same execrable and heartless cruelty which characterises their capture. Of the thousands of Abyssinian Christians seized by ABU ANGA the majority were women and children ; and under the cruel lash of the whip they were forced to march on foot the whole distance from Abyssinia to Omdurman ; wrenched from their families, provided with scarcely enough food to keep body and soul together, barefooted, and almost naked, they were driven through the country like herds of cattle. The greater number of them perished on the road ; and those who arrived in Omdurman were in so pitiable a condition that purchasers could scarcely be found for them, whilst numbers were given away for nothing by the

KHALIFA. After the defeat of the Shilluks, ZEKI TUMMAL packed thousands of these wretched creatures into the small barges used for the transport of his troops, and despatched them to Omdurman. Hundreds died from suffocation and overcrowding on the journey, and, on the arrival of the remnant, the KHALIFA appropriated most of the young men as recruits for his body-guard, whilst the women and young girls were sold by public auction, which lasted several days. Hungry, and in many cases naked, these unfortunate creatures lay huddled together in front of the Beit el Mal. For food, they were given an utterly inadequate quantity of uncooked dhurra. Hundreds fell ill; and for these poor wretches it was also impossible to find purchasers. Wearily they dragged their emaciated bodies to the river bank, where they died; and as nobody would take the trouble to bury them, the corpses were pushed into the river and swept away.

DESERT SLAVE ROUTES.

But a worse fate than this befell the Slaves who had the misfortune to be sent from Darfur along the broad stretches of waterless desert which lie between that province and Omdurman. These miserable creatures were mercilessly driven forward day and night; and it would be impossible for me to describe here the execrable measures adopted by these brutal Slave-drivers to force on their prey to their destination. When the poor wretches could go no further their ears were cut off as a proof to the owner that his property had died on the road. Some of my friends told me that on one occasion they had found an unfortunate woman whose ears had been cut off, but who was still alive. Taking pity on her, they brought her to El Fasher, where she eventually recovered, whilst her ears had been duly exposed in Omdurman as proof of the death.

SLAVE CARAVANS.

Latterly no large caravans of Slaves have arrived in Omdurman, because the majority of the Slave-producing districts, such as Darfur, have become depopulated, or, in some cases, the tribes, such as the Tama, Massalit, etc., have thrown off allegiance to the KHALIFA. Consignments, however, still come from Reggaf; but, owing to the long and tedious journey, numbers of them perish on the way. As the supplies from Gallabat, Kordofan, and Darfur have considerably diminished, the KHALIFA now allows the Emirs to sell Slaves to the itinerant Gellabas; and the latter are obliged to sign a paper giving a descriptive return of their purchase and the amount paid. They are permitted to re-sell on the same conditions.

There is, of course, a daily sale of Slaves in Omdurman; but the purchase of male Slaves is forbidden, as they are looked upon as the KHALIFA's monopoly, and are generally turned into soldiers. Any one wishing to dispose of a male Slave must send him to the Beit el Mal, where a purely nominal price is paid for him, and he is then, if likely to make a good soldier, recruited for the *mulazemin*, but if unsuitable he is sent off to work as a labourer in his master's fields. The sale of women and girls is permissible everywhere, with the proviso that a paper must be signed by two witnesses of the sale, one of whom, if possible, should be a Kadi, certifying that the Slave sold is the actual property of the vendor. This system was brought into force because Slaves frequently ran away from their masters, were caught, and sold by other persons as their own property, and thus theft of Slaves was a very common practice in Omdurman. They were frequently enticed into other people's houses, or secretly induced to leave the fields, then thrown into chains, and carried off to distant parts of the country, where they were sold at very low rates. In accordance with the

Mohammedan law, Slaves cannot be witnesses, and, being well aware of their inferior position, these stolen creatures, as long as they are kindly treated, are not dissatisfied with their lot.

HOW WOMEN AND GIRLS ARE SOLD.

In Omdurman itself, in an open space a short distance to the south-east of the Beit el Mal, stands a house roughly built of mud bricks, which is known as the Suk er Rekik (Slave market). Under the pretext that I wanted to buy or exchange Slaves, I several times received the KHALIFA'S permission to visit it, and found ample opportunity for closely observing the conduct of the business. Here professional Slave-dealers assemble to offer their wares for sale. Round the walls of the house numbers of women and girls stand or sit. They vary from the decrepit and aged half-clad Slaves of the working class to the gaily-decked *surya* (concubine), and, as the trade is looked upon as a perfectly natural and lawful business, those put up for sale are carefully examined from head to foot without the least restriction, just as if they were animals. The mouth is opened to see if the teeth are in good condition. The upper part of the body and the back are laid bare, and the arms carefully looked at. They are then told to take a few steps backward or forward, in order that their movements and gait may be examined. A series of questions are put to them to test their knowledge of Arabic. In fact, they have to submit to any examination the intending purchaser may wish to make. *Suryas*, of course, vary considerably in price; but the whole matter is treated by the Slaves without the smallest concern. They consider it perfectly natural, and have no notion of being treated otherwise. Only occasionally one can see by the expression of a woman or girl that she feels this close scrutiny; possibly her position with her former master was rather that of a servant than a Slave, or she may have been looked upon almost as a member of the family, and may have been brought to this unhappy position by force of circumstances, or through some hateful inhumanity on the part of her former master. When the intending purchaser has completed his scrutiny, he then refers to the dealer, asks him what he paid for her, or if he has any other better wares for sale. He will probably complain that her face is not pretty enough, that her body is not sufficiently developed, that she does not speak Arabic, and so on, with the object of reducing the price as much as possible; whilst, on the other hand, the owner will do his utmost to show up her good qualities, charms, etc., into the detail of which it is not necessary to enter here. Amongst the various "secret defects" which oblige the dealer to reduce his price are snoring, bad qualities of character, such as thieving, and many others; but when at last the sale has been finally arranged, the paper is drawn out and signed, the money paid, and the Slave becomes the property of her new master. Payment is always made in local currency (Omla Gedida dollars), and runs approximately as follows:—

For an aged working Slave, fifty to eighty dollars; for a middle-aged woman, eighty to one hundred and twenty dollars; for young girls between eight and eleven years of age, according to looks, one hundred and ten to one hundred and sixty dollars; and for *suryas* (concubines), according to looks, one hundred and eighty to seven hundred dollars. These rates, of course, vary also according to market value, or special demand for a particular race.

THE BOOK SHOULD BE READ.

Unfortunately the exigencies of space prevent us from doing more than very scant justice to this most interesting and valuable contribution to the recent sad history of the lost Sudan; but we heartily commend its careful

perusal to all who are interested in the welfare of the unfortunate peoples now living under a reign of terror, such as has not been seen in the recent history of the world. A work containing 630 closely printed pages, and a series of excellent maps, requires careful study, but it is well worth the trouble, and all will agree that it is a wonderful specimen, not only of the great powers of memory on the part of the illustrious captive, into whose brain the terrible scenes he had witnessed, and had suffered from in his own person, have been burned as with a red-hot iron, but also of the skill and care with which MAJOR WINGATE has taken down the notes given him by the narrator, and has translated them into excellent English for the benefit of the large reading public in this and other lands.

FATHER OHRWALDER, in his little introductory note, modestly requests that in any discrepancies between his own descriptions and those of SLATIN PASHA, the reader may give preference to those of the latter, who was an officer in high command under GENERAL GORDON, until he became a captive in close contact with the MAHDI and the KHALIFA—whereas he himself was only a poor captive missionary, whose very existence was almost forgotten by the rulers of the country. As SLATIN could keep no notes nor diaries, the mass of information he has been able to give is truly marvellous. His intercourse with GENERAL GORDON is described with much feeling, and is deeply interesting—though it did not last long, as for some years he was actively engaged in the distant province of Darfur, of which province he was appointed Governor-General by GORDON PASHA.

As we read this terrible history of the rise and all-destroying progress of Mahdism, we cannot help recalling a sentence in one of GORDON's letters, which he wrote to us some years ago, when he said that he wished he could impress upon us how trumpery was this outburst of so-called Mahdism! That he and SLATIN were afterwards cruelly undeceived, we have all long known—how cruelly is deeply intensified by the painfully-interesting book so appropriately headed "Fire and Sword in the Sudan."

Chapters I. to IX. describe SLATIN's government of Darfur, his struggle against Mahdism, and his final surrender to the Mahdi—also the annihilation of the army of HICKS PASHA, and an account of the rise of the Mahdi, from a personal narrative by his successor, the KHALIFA.

The following eleven chapters describe the siege and fall of Khartoum, and the events that succeeded this deadly blow to civilisation, which SLATIN witnessed as a deeply interested spectator, until MAJOR WINGATE's mysterious but faithful emissary from the "Intelligence Department" succeeded in extricating him from the deadly meshes of the Khalifas.

The long perilous journey from Omdurman to Assouan has already been told by the press, but it forms a happy conclusion to a volume full of horrors, and all must congratulate the rescued prisoner, and the skilful untiring officer whose eye is ever turned towards the Soudan with a view to setting the captives free. May he still be as successful as he has hitherto been.

Obituary.

REV. HORACE WALLER, F.R.G.S.

WE record with much regret the death of the Rev. HORACE WALLER, Member of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which occurred at his residence, East Liss, Hants, on the 22nd February, after a very short illness. Mr. WALLER was only 63 years of age, and was, apparently, in his usual health and vigor when he presided over a meeting of the Committee on the 7th February. His loss will be greatly felt by his colleagues, for he was not only a zealous advocate of Emancipation in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba, but a determined opponent of the Slave-trade throughout Africa. He was a man of strong character, and was able to write in a terse and forcible manner, not only in his frequent letters to the *Times*, but in various pamphlets occasionally issued to the public, and generally dealing with the question of Slavery in Zanzibar. Two of the largest and best of these our readers will remember under the quaint titles of "Ivory, Apes and Peacocks," and "Heligoland for Zanzibar, or One Island full of Free Men for Two full of Slaves."

Mr. WALLER began his early life in a London office, where he acquired business habits which were of great use to him when, in 1860, he accompanied BISHOP MACKENZIE, as Lay Assistant, on the founding of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the result of the efforts of Dr. LIVINGSTONE and Dr. (now Sir JOHN) KIRK, and others. Here it was his good fortune to come in contact with the great explorer DAVID LIVINGSTONE, at that time English Consul at Quilimane for the Eastern Coast and Independent Districts in the interior of Africa.

Mr. WALLER was a ready and powerful speaker, and he frequently related in public meetings how, in some of his expeditions to the interior in company with LIVINGSTONE, they had cut Slaves out of the heavy wooden yokes in which they had been securely fastened by the Arab Slave-traders. Although we believe Mr. WALLER's stay in Africa was limited to something under two years, he managed to see a good deal of the Slave-trade, an interesting account of which he gave in a speech made in Paris, in 1867, at a Conference convened by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in conjunction with the French and Spanish Abolition Societies. The Members of the Conference appeared surprised to learn that the small Island of Zanzibar alone absorbed 20,000 to 25,000 Slaves every year.

In the same year he appears to have taken Orders, his first work being at Chatham, and in 1870 he was appointed Vicar of Leytonstone, whence he proceeded four years later to Twywell, where he was Rector for 21 years. He became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1864.

It was in the year 1870 that Mr. WALLER accepted an invitation to become a Member of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, a position which he still held at the time of his death.

Although owing to distance from Town he was unable to attend the Meetings of the Committee, very regularly, for nearly 20 years, he did other good service to the cause by speaking at public meetings of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in various parts of the country. Since the establishment of the I.B.E.A. Co. in East Central Africa the question of Slavery in those regions, and more particularly in the British protected Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, has become almost paramount, and has engaged the earnest attention of the SOCIETY. During this protracted and anxious period Mr. WALLER has been most assiduous in attending the monthly meetings of the Committee and other gatherings, where his energy was greatly appreciated by his colleagues, and as it is more than probable that some decisive action will shortly be taken by the Government, in respect to the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar, one naturally feels regret that so active a worker in the cause, as our late good friend, should not have lived to see the result of his own and the SOCIETY's labours. It may be interesting to note that the last public act of Mr. WALLER, in reference to Zanzibar Slavery, was his presentation to the Members of the Committee on the 7th February of a little pamphlet just written by himself asking why we should not free our Slaves in Zanzibar.

In the year 1871 the late CHARLES GILPIN, M.P., Member of the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and also of the Society of Friends, moved for the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, to investigate the East African Slave Trade. This movement was mainly owing to the influence of the late EDMUND STURGE, and Mr. WALLER assisted by giving evidence before the Select Committee, together with his friend Sir BARTLE FRERE.

The Committee recommended that Dr. KIRK, then Acting Political Agent at Zanzibar, should receive the appointment of Permanent Political Agent. The clause introducing this recommendation was drawn up by Mr. EDMUND STURGE and Mr. WALLER, and afterwards adopted by the Committee of the House of Commons.

Sir BARTLE FRERE'S Mission to the East Coast of Africa in 1873 was the outcome of the work of the Select Committee, and the signature by the SULTAN of the Treaty between Zanzibar and Great Britain, declaring the Slave-trade by sea to be illegal, was largely owing to the subsequent exertions of Dr. (now Sir JOHN) KIRK, G.C.M.G. & K.C.B.

The special interest shown by Mr. WALLER up to the day of his death in the Zanzibar question, and his emphatic declaration that, owing to the Treaty abolishing the Slave-trade, all Slaves who had been imported into the island since 1873 were illegally held in bondage, has already been shown above. That "Slavery under the British Flag is a national disgrace," Mr. WALLER was never tired of reiterating.

Two bulky volumes on the shelves of the Library of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY'S Office testify to the industry with which Mr. WALLER transcribed and edited the voluminous journals of DAVID LIVINGSTONE, which Mr. H. M.

STANLEY brought home to England, after he had succeeded in finding the great missionary explorer, on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. These volumes were published in 1875; at the end of that year commenced the strong agitation against the notorious Slave Circulars which did so much to revive the Anti-Slavery feeling in England, and Mr. WALLER took a prominent part in speaking at meetings held under the auspices of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in London and elsewhere, and he gave evidence respecting Slavery and the Slave-trade before the Royal Commission on the Slave Circulars, on behalf of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Mr. WALLER's last Anti-Slavery speech is printed on page 44 of this issue of the *Reporter*.

It is well known that General GORDON and Mr. WALLER were intimate friends, and when the former returned from the Soudan, after his second term of active service under the Khedive, he often escaped from the too close attentions of gentlemen of the press by burying himself in Mr. WALLER's comfortable country rectory at Twywell.

When the late Conference of the Powers was convened at Brussels the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY appointed a Deputation to visit that city to confer with the various Plenipotentiaries and Delegates, and give such information respecting the Slave-trade as might be required. For some weeks the office at New Broad Street might be said to have been transported to Brussels, and one of those who rendered good service in that city, was the rev. gentleman whose loss we now deplore.

Mr. WALLER leaves a widow and young family, for whom all must feel the deepest sympathy.

The interment took place on the 26th February, in the prettily situated Churchyard at Milland, near Liphook. There was a numerous attendance, amongst whom were two of Mr. WALLER's companions in Africa, Sir JOHN KIRK, G.C.M.G., and Mr. E. D. YOUNG. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was represented by Mr. HENRY GURNEY, Member of the Committee, by Mr. J. EASTOE TEALL (Assistant Secretary), who had known the deceased for nearly 21 years, and by Mr. C. H. PLEVINS, an old friend of Mr. WALLER's.

At their next meeting, on the motion of the President, Mr. ARTHUR PEASE, M.P., the following minute was passed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY :—

"*Resolved* :—That this Committee have heard with deep regret of the decease, after a very short illness, of their friend and colleague, the Rev. HORACE WALLER, late Rector of Twywell, who presided at their last meeting on the 7th February.

"That whilst offering their warmest sympathy with Mrs. WALLER and her family under their bereavement, they also feel that in the death of Mr. WALLER they have lost not only an old friend, but a fearless and ever active coadjutor in the Anti-Slavery work carried on by the SOCIETY. That they feel sensible of the zeal and devotion shown by Mr. WALLER in the course of the twenty-five years during which he had been a member of the Committee, and are convinced that in the Anti-Slavery history of the present century Mr. WALLER's name will hold a distinguished place."

Hausaland.

BY CHARLES HENRY ROBINSON, M.A.*

As we go to press, we receive, for review, one of the most interesting and important books, on Africa, that has appeared for many years. We have no space to review it in our present issue, but we hope to do so next month. Meanwhile we give a few extracts relating to the Slave-trade in the Central Soudan, which will interest and astonish our readers. Mr. ROBINSON'S method of calculating that there is one Hausa Slave for every 300 of the world's population is ingenious, and, moreover, it is true. We will put the question in another form, viz. : If every man, woman, and child were driven out of Greater London to-morrow, there are enough Hausa Slaves to fill up every vacant place !

Mr. ROBINSON went to Kano, that great city in the Soudan, about which he so pleasantly wrote in the *Pall Mall Gazette* a short time ago, under the title of "The Manchester of Tropical Africa." Those who do us the honour to read the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* will have seen that article, in the issue for December, 1895, and may not be sorry to learn that we shall have much interesting matter on the same subject to lay before our readers before long.

Mr. ROBINSON'S book shows very plainly that, even when emancipation is obtained in Zanzibar and Pemba, there will still be ample work for the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and that there must be no thought of putting off one's armour and sitting in the tent. In Hausaland, under the British sphere of influence, there still exist five million Slaves, and, in lieu of money, these wretched beings pass as current coin of the realm, being stamped with the ineffaceable brand of servitude, and passed from hand to hand, just as we pay our way in silver and gold. See below what Mr. ROBINSON tells us.

SLAVERY AND SLAVE-RAIDING.

One out of every three hundred persons now living in the world is a Hausa-speaking Slave. This statement sounds so utterly monstrous and incredible that the reader, whose acquaintance with the Central Soudan is but small, may well be excused if he hesitate to accept it without definite evidence as to its truth. It is generally admitted that the Hausa-speaking population number at least fifteen million, *i.e.*, roughly speaking, one per cent. of the world's population. Colonel MONTEIL, who has recently travelled through a considerable portion of the Hausa States, gives it as his opinion that the Slave population is far in excess of the free. Though this estimate appears to me too high, it is, I think, a fact which admits of no doubt whatever, that at the very least one-third are in a state of Slavery, or, in other words, that one out of every three hundred of the world's population is a Hausa-speaking Slave. Slave-raiding, and the traffic in Slaves, to which it ministers, is the great overshadowing evil of the Central Soudan. There is no tract of equal size in Africa, or, indeed, in the world, where the Slave-trade at the present moment flourishes so largely and so entirely unchecked by any European influence. So much has been said and written about the

* London: SAMPSON, LOW, MARSTON & Co., 1896.

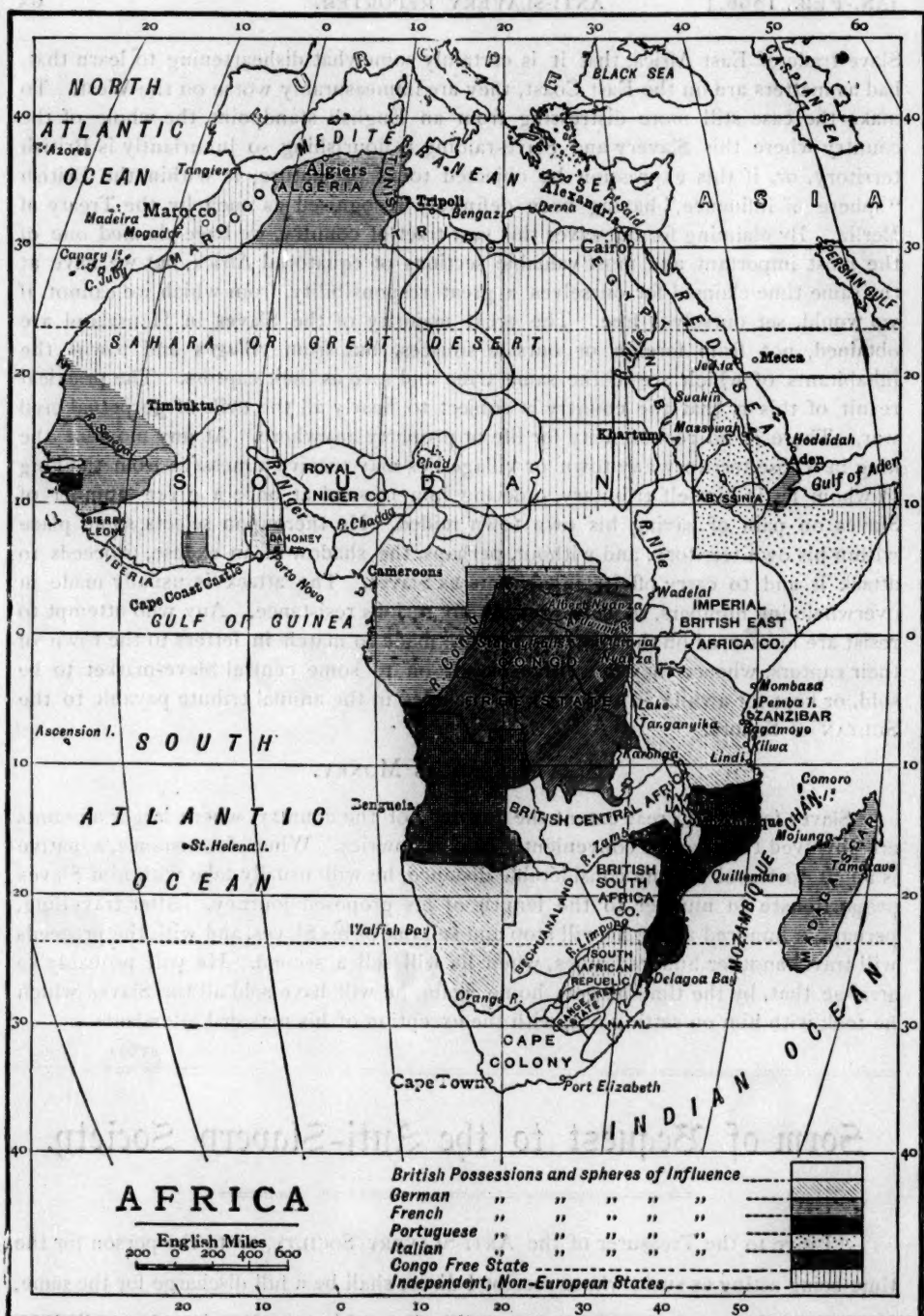
Slave-trade of East Africa, that it is certainly somewhat disheartening to learn that, bad as matters are on the East Coast, they are immeasurably worse on the West. To make the case still more distressing from an English standpoint, the whole of the country where this Slavery and Slave-raiding is flourishing so luxuriantly is British territory, or, if this expression be objected to as premature, is within the British "sphere of influence," having been definitely recognised as such by the Treaty of Berlin. By claiming for ourselves this vast tract of country, we have claimed one of the most important and most valuable sections of equatorial Africa, but we have at the same time claimed for ourselves a great responsibility, from which we cannot, if we would, set ourselves free. The great majority of the Slaves in Hausaland are obtained, not from foreign or outside sources, but from villages and towns the inhabitants of which are of the same tribe and race as their captors. The practical result of this is that the country is subject to nearly all the evils of perpetual civil war. There is no real security for life or property anywhere. At any moment the king in whose territory any town or village lies may receive a message from the king to whom he is himself tributary, ordering him to send at once a given number of Slaves on pain of having his own town raided. He thereupon selects some place within his own territory, and without, perhaps, the shadow of an excuse, proceeds to attack it and to carry off its inhabitants as Slaves. The attack is usually made in overwhelming numbers, so as to prevent any serious resistance. Any who attempt to resist are massacred on the spot, the rest are made to march in fetters to the town of their captors, whence they are either passed on to some central Slave-market to be sold, or kept for awhile in order to be included in the annual tribute payable to the SULTAN of Sokoto.

SLAVES USED AS MONEY.

Slaves form to a great extent the currency of the country, where larger amounts are involved than can be conveniently paid in cowries. When, for instance, a native is about to travel for any considerable distance, he will usually take with him Slaves proportionate in number to the length of his proposed journey. After travelling, perhaps, a hundred miles, he will stop and sell one of his Slaves, and with the proceeds will travel another hundred miles, when he will sell a second. He will probably so arrange that, by the time he gets home again, he will have sold all the Slaves which he took with him on setting out, with the exception of his personal attendants.

Form of Bequest to the Anti-Slavery Society.

"I give to the Treasurer of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, or to the person for the time being acting as such, whose receipt I direct shall be a full discharge for the same, the sum of £ _____ sterling (free of Legacy Duty), to be applied for the general purposes of the said Society, to be fully paid out of such part of my personal estate as is legally applicable to such purpose, and in priority to all other payments thereout."



Stanford's Geog. Estab. London.

MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

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